THE PHONY FACTS BEHIND CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM
David Tell

the weekly Standard

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New

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Times Reporter Who Resigned Leaves Long Trail of Deception

A staff reporter for The New York Times committed frequent acts of journalistic fraud while covering significant news events in recent months. An investigation by the newspaper's journalists found The widespread fabrication and plagiarism represent a profound betrayal of trust and a low point in the history of this newspaper.

The reporter, Jayson Blair, 27, [illegible] leagues with dispatches that purported to be [illegible] Texas and other states, while he was far away, in New York. He fabricated comments. He concocted scenes. He stole material from other newspapers and wire services. He selected details from

CORRECTING THE RECORD

An accounting: The degree of known fabrication and deception. Page 22-23.

The Times [illegible] nearly [illegible] years and he was prolific. Spot checks of the more than 600 articles he wrote before October have found [illegible] that inquiry con[illegible] readers [illegible] additional fals[illegible] Blair's work; tl[illegible] is retrace@nyti[illegible]

Every newsp[illegible] bank and eve[illegible] ment, trusts its [illegible] hold central p[illegible] Mr. Blair re-

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Ooooops

Christopher Caldwell on the New York Times's meltdown

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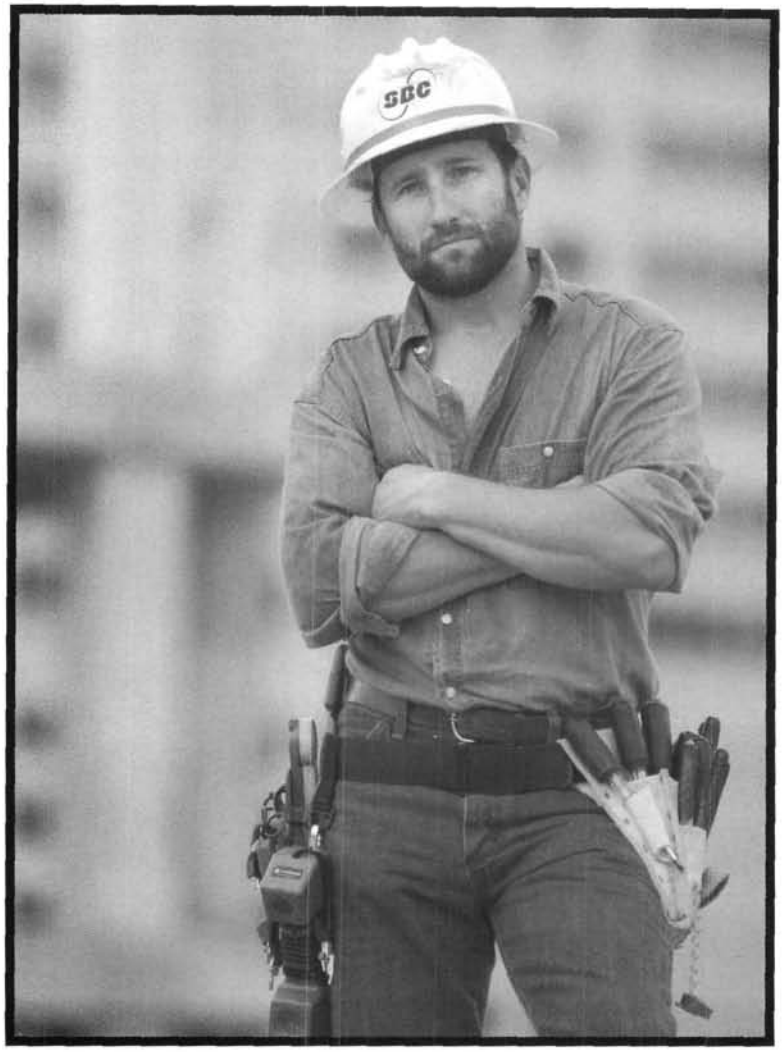
He knows how to build a stronger economy.



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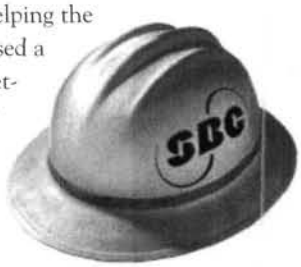

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the weekly Standard

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The *Times*'s Glass House

THE SCRAPBOOK, a longtime connoisseur of the *New York Times*, can't begin to compete this week with all the johnny-come-latelies—or, indeed, with the *Times* itself, which printed in its May 11 edition what may be the longest newspaper correction in history: 14,171 words in three pieces retracting, explaining, and apologizing for the mistakes of the paper's disgraced national-desk reporter Jayson Blair. (We call that a good start.)

Nor can we summon the *Times*ian hauteur that commenting on such a world-historical correction would seem to require. Happily, though, we happen to have in our files a copy of the mind-bogglingly pompous April 17, 1981, editorial that the *Times* ran when its competitors at the *Washington Post* put their foot in it with a famous, Pulitzer-winning hoax by reporter Janet Cooke. (We hear, but can't verify, that this editorial was being reread with grim satisfaction over at the *Post* last week.)

"When a reputable newspaper lies, it poisons the community. Every other newspaper story becomes suspect. Anyone stung by a newspaper story feels emboldened to call it a lie. Facts are not only impugned but made impotent. . . . The lie—the fabricated event, the made-up quote, the fictitious source—is the nightmare of any respected newsroom. It is intolerable not only because it discredits publications but because it debases communication, and democracy.

"We do not know what possessed Janet Cooke to invent an interview with an imaginary 8-year-old drug addict who aspired to grow up to be a heroin pusher in the nation's capital. . . . We do not know why this contested tale was then pushed for journalism's highest honor, or why the Pulitzer Prize judges jumped the entry from one category to another to bestow the award.

"We do know that the apologies and embarrassments all around can be only the first steps toward reaffirming a public trust. . . . The *Post* was right in stating that 'warning bells of some kind should have sounded, that procedures should exist . . . for smoking out a weird and atypical hoax of this kind.'

"As residents of the same glass house, we are well aware of a newspaper's vulnerability to error and deception. The *Post*'s examination of its procedures will instruct us all.

"But it seems clear even now that one critical failure occurred the moment Miss Cooke refused to document her story for her editors. For there was an alarm in this case, a great commotion in fact from a startled police force and City Hall. And they were turned away by the newspaper because the reporter allegedly risked death if she revealed her sources and subject. Other reporters have gone to jail to protect confidential informants, and editors and publishers stand prepared to join them. But society will revoke the privilege of confidentiality if it is casually entrusted to individual reporters.

"Great publications magnify beyond measure the voice of any single writer. Thus, when their editors and publishers want or need to know a source for what they print, they have to know it—and be able to assure the community or the courts that they do. Where this is not now the rule, let this sad affair at least have the good effect of making it the rule."

No wonder people wish them ill. ♦

WHO's on First?

Taiwan will not be represented at the World Health Assembly, the annual meeting of the World Health Organization's 192 members, which begins next week in Geneva, Switzerland—a meeting that will be dominated by talk of the outbreak of SARS, or Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome. China, which immeasurably worsened the worldwide health and economic toll from SARS by covering up the outbreak for months, will attend. Meanwhile, in some quarters, Taiwan is being accused of "politicizing" the illness. Apparently, it's politicization for Taiwan to point out that its exclusion from the WHO—under a dubious and anachronistic One China policy—has negative consequences for global health, not to mention the health of Taiwan's people. Yet Beijing's continued insistence that Taiwan not be allowed to join the WHO is supposed to be unremarkable.

Michael M.C. Lai, a USC expert on SARS, last week told reporters for the *Washington Post* that the failure of the World Health Organization to send help to Taiwan in March worsened the spread of the disease. "Had the WHO sent in experts and resources to help plot the strategy early, the recent outbreak in Taiwan could have been prevented," Lai said. "It is one thing for WHO not daring to offend China, which I can understand. However, WHO has abdicated its own mission by ignoring Taiwan as if Taiwan's SARS outbreak did not matter to the world's overall strategy of containing the disease. It is time for WHO to include Taiwan as part of this strategy."

Meanwhile, WHO's David L. Heymann said, "We don't believe that Taiwan has suffered by not being a member of the World Health Organization."

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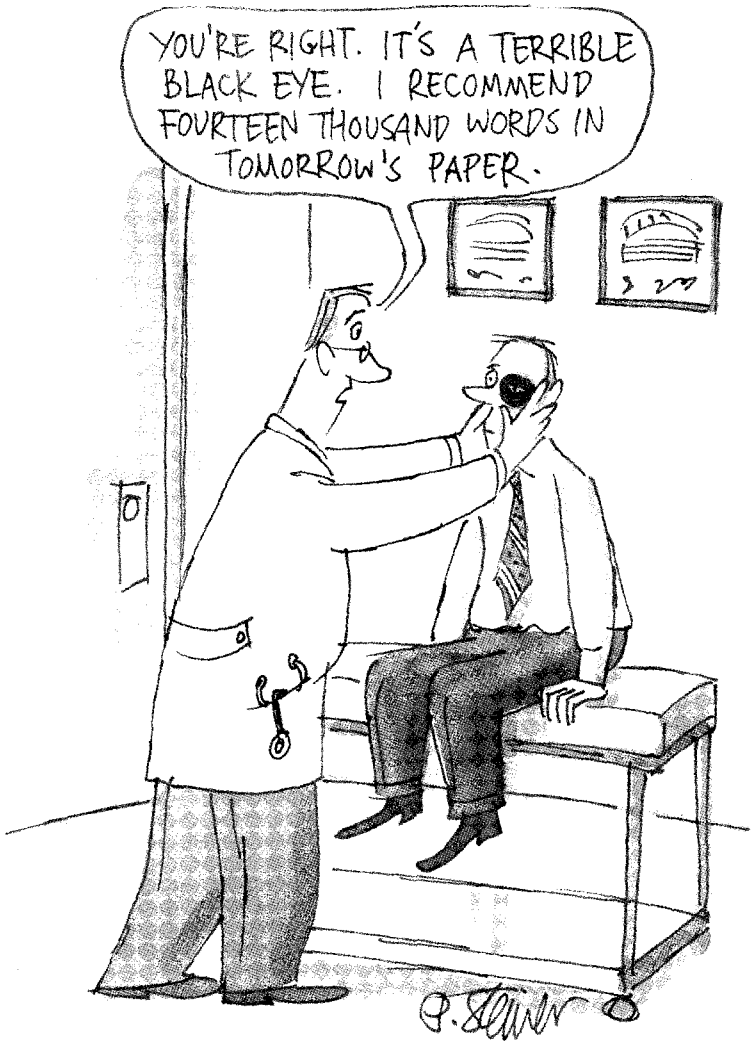

It is a strange organization whose officials insist that membership brings no benefits. Then again, it's a strange health care organization that lets its decisions be dictated by Beijing, which thinks denial is the proper response to an epidemic. ♦

A Vast Anti-French Conspiracy?

The French government, Karen DeYoung of the *Washington Post* reported last week, "believes it is the victim of an 'organized campaign of disinformation' from within the Bush administration, designed to discredit it with allegations of complicity with the Iraqi government of Saddam Hussein."

Jacques Chirac has apparently been keeping his diplomats busy reading the American papers and taking careful note of stories critical of France that also include comments from unnamed administration officials. "We have decided to count the untrue accusations that have appeared in the U.S. press and which have deeply shocked the French," a Foreign Ministry spokeswoman, Marie Masdupuy, told Reuters.

We bet that's one heck of a list they've compiled. And we'd venture that a psychiatrist with competence in these matters would diagnose the French with one heck of a case of projection. Since *they* have a compliant press that can be ordered around and manipulated with ease by the government, they assume things work the same way in Washington.

What the Quai d'Orsay imagines is an "ugly campaign to destroy the image of France," in the words of one French official, is simply the everyday work of a robust and uncoordinated Washington press corps. Last time we checked, the experts at destroying the image of France were primarily located in Paris. ♦

Kooks "R" Us

A few weeks ago we noted in this space that the Saudi academic who marks the holiday of Purim each year with vile speculations about "Jewish vampires" had found a new home, lecturing at the Arab League think tank, the Zayed Center for Coordination and Follow-up. Now the indispensable scholars at the Middle East Media Research Institute have published an in-depth study of the Abu Dhabi-based think tank's activities, from its discussions of whether Americans and Israelis secretly pulled off the 9/11 attacks to its learned discussions of the "factual basis" of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (the report can be read at *www.memri.org/release*).

The latest scholarly research at the Zayed Center? According to MEMRI, it's entertaining the possibility that the SARS virus "could constitute a biological war launched against China in an attempt to weaken it economically, or it could be a product of an American war against the world." ♦

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Casual

SARS and Singapore Noodles

I don't know how seriously to take the alarming talk about the spread of SARS, or Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome. For now I prefer to think of it as SAMS, or Severe Acute Media Syndrome, as David Baltimore, the president of Caltech, recently called it, suggesting that its danger has been greatly pumped up by television and the press. But, either way, it is not going to keep me out of Chinese restaurants, whose business, according to various reports, has been hard hit by the SARS scare.

"The food of my people" is what I call Chinese food. When I say this, I refer to the unrelenting enthusiasm of Jews for Chinese food. An old joke has it that Jewish civilization has existed for 5,764 years and Chinese civilization for 4,701 years, which is why for more than a thousand years the Jews went hungry.

Jews make up a large, in several places a preponderant, part of the clientele of many Chinese restaurants. "How is it," the comedian Jackie Mason asks, "you see so many Jews in Chinese restaurants and you never see a Chinese in a Jewish restaurant?" The answer, obviously, is that Chinese food is so much better.

The only similarity between the two kinds of restaurants is one that is dying out: the presence of ever so slightly belligerent waiters. Innumerable are the Jewish waiter jokes ("Which of you gentlemen ordered the clean glass?" "They seem to be out of cream in the kitchen. Would you take your coffee without milk?") The old Chinese waiters somehow strove to make plain that they were above their work and that, in a more just world, you would be waiting on them. This made it incumbent upon you to establish that, since we all had to live in an unjust world, you'd like to start with the Won Ton soup.

My mother, who was beautiful and highly intelligent, but less than a four-star chef, prepared the first Chinese food I ate. The dish was chop suey, itself not a genuine Chinese dish but, I'm told, an American invention. Hers was made up of large chunks of beef and vast quantities of cooked celery soaked in soy sauce and served atop rice. Nothing of the subtlety of Chinese cuisine was even hinted at in this dish.

My first official Chinese food was eaten at a neighborhood restaurant called Pekin House. Cantonese was the style of its cooking. Nothing very exotic was served: egg rolls, eggfoo young, shrimp in lobster sauce, fried rice, the standard fare. So completely Jewish was its clientele that in time the restaurant's owner, a Chinese, himself began to look Jewish: He wore the same clothes as his customers, he had black-framed glasses, his very mannerisms came to seem Jewish.

Darren Gygi

In the summer of my fourteenth year, for two weeks I replaced one of the busboys at the Pekin House. After the restaurant closed, busboys could eat anything they wished from the menu, except shrimp dishes. I was a gastronomically unadventurous kid, and so I ordered the plainest provender. It may be that I am still trying to make up for that missed opportunity.

Part of the hardship of being in the peacetime Army for me was the paucity of good Chinese restaurants in Texas and Arkansas. In Little Rock, I discovered a Chinese restaurant that, in the attempt to ease its customers over the cultural bump, began all meals with a small salad instead of an egg roll and supplied its diners with white bread to sop up the gravy.

I must have been in my thirties when Chinese restaurants with Mandarin-style, soon followed by Szechuan, cooking came to Chicago. Like Bertrand Russell, who discovered sex around the same age, I couldn't get enough. Truth is, I still can't. I could eat in Chinese restaurants, good ones, four nights a week, and in merely okay ones the other three nights.

A new restaurant opened recently in our neighborhood, a joke spinning off the oldest cliché about Chinese food has it—half-Chinese, half-German. It's very good, but the problem is, an hour after you've eaten there, you're hungry for power. My only problem with Chinese food is that I find it eats too fast. Which is one of the reasons I am pleased to have learned, many moons ago, to use chopsticks. Even though I'm fairly adept, they permit me to abandon my heavy shovel method.

No other Asian food quite works for me. Thai food is too sweet, Korean too hot and too blatant; Indian food I consider mud and peppers, with curry added; Japanese food, though prettiest of all, is somehow insubstantial, with sushi, in my coarse view, being fit only for castaways. Chinese food is the only one that I look forward to eating with serious excitement.

Hot and sour soup, Singapore noodles, scallops and Chinese broccoli, Kung-pao chicken, beef and pea pods, these are some of the names of my desires. Bubonic plague, maybe; threat of earthquake, quite possibly; invasion by aliens, of course; but SARS will not keep me out of Chinese restaurants. I'd like to begin, I believe, with the pot stickers.

Joseph Epstein

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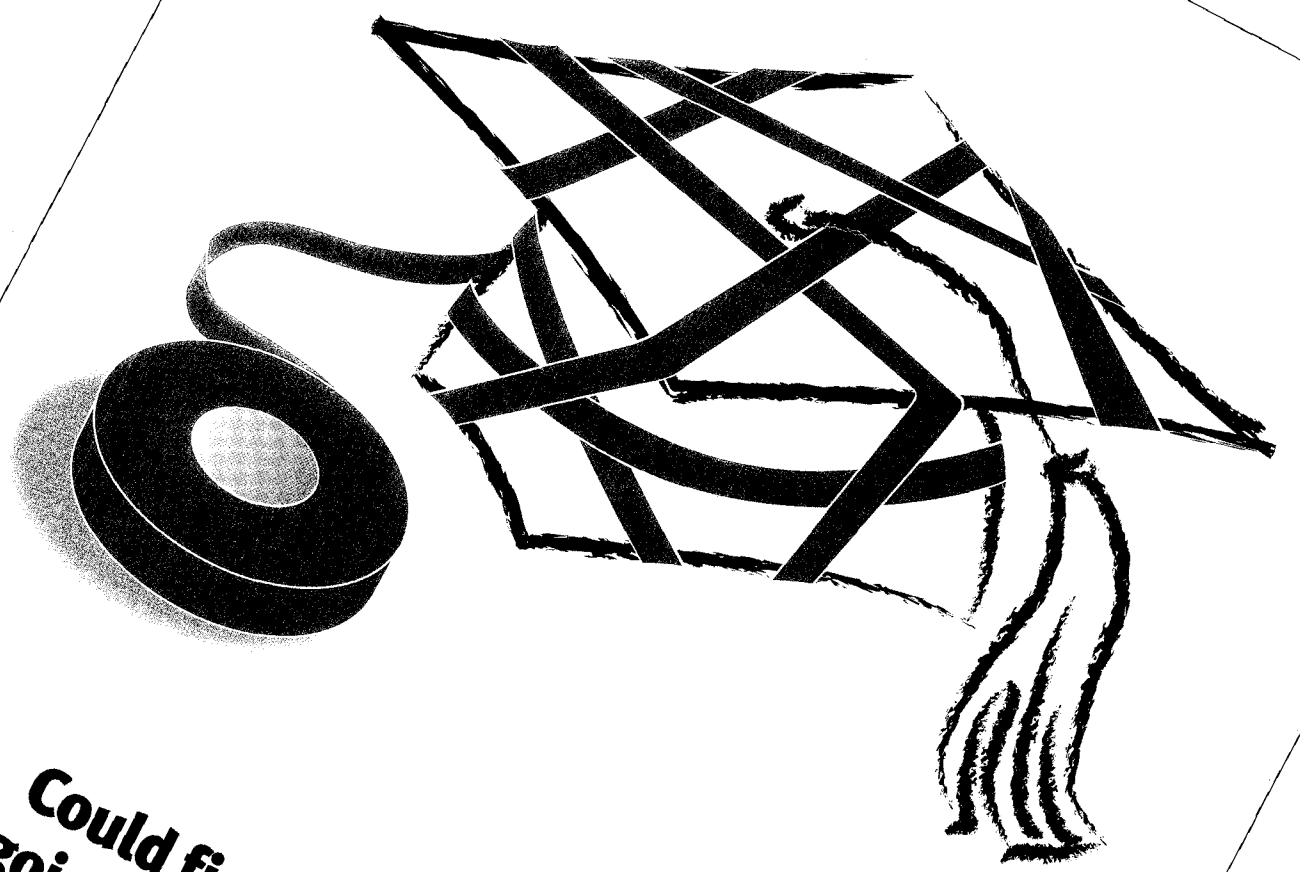

Could financing a degree mean going through the third degree?

If Congress fails to renew the Fair Credit Reporting Act (FCRA), a patchwork of conflicting laws administered by the states would be put in place. The resulting bureaucratic nightmare of red tape would make financing a college degree a real test of endurance. And things like obtaining a mortgage or financing a new car could also become far more time consuming and expensive.

That's why Congress needs to protect the national consumer credit system we already have. FCRA established a nationwide, streamlined system of consumer credit that works. It ensures accuracy, fairness and confidentiality for consumers as well as an unprecedented level of choice and service. Find out how that system works for you by visiting our Web site at *www.ProtectConsumerCredit.org.*

PARTNERSHIP TO PROTECT CONSUMER CREDIT
Giving Americans the Credit They Deserve.

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Millions for Defense

Reading William Kristol's "The *End of the Beginning*" (May 12) reminded me of an incident which shows that the United States' foreign policy has been relatively consistent for the past 200 years.

In the 1801-05 period, our slogan was "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." It was our response to the Pasha of Tripoli, who wanted us to pay more for the protection of our merchant fleet in the Mediterranean Sea.

At that time, all of the European countries, including Napoleon's France, were paying tribute to these North African and Arab pirates. (There is nothing new under the sun.)

Yet President Jefferson agreed to one of our first undeclared wars, and sent the Navy and the Marines to convince these bandits that we were different.

In 1805, the Marines and other soldiers marched 600 miles from Egypt across the desert to attack Tripoli from the rear while the Navy blockaded the port. Lt. Stephen Decatur became a hero, and the Marine Corps's hymn still acknowledges this action, "... to the shores of Tripoli."

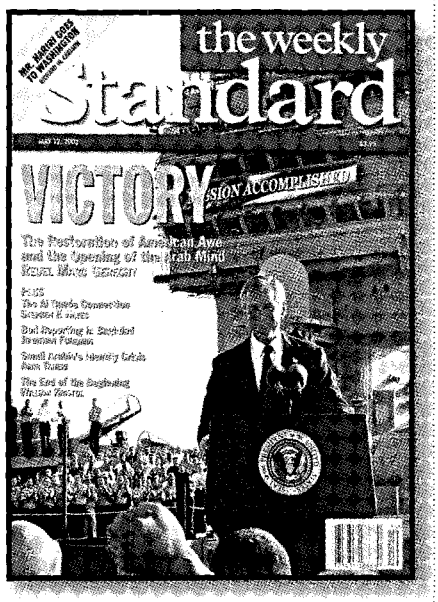
Robert L. Wichterman
Lancaster, PA

Saudis for Democracy

I am writing to protest most strenuously Stephen Schwartz's allegation ("North of the Border," May 5) that I and the embassy of the United States in Riyadh ignore Saudi democratic activists.

In fact, I meet regularly with Saudis from both within and outside the government, including many who advocate political, economic, and social reform. At no time have I refused to meet with democratic activists, or any other group who has sought to meet with me. I invited a number of conservative activists to meet with me recently, and the invitation was refused, for which they were severely criticized in the press. There is a strong desire for reform within Saudi Arabia, starting at the very highest levels of government. I appreciate hearing a wide spectrum of opinion on how Saudis view their future and how they can incorporate increased transparency, rule of law, and political participation into their unique culture. But reform is something that the Saudis will have to create for themselves. We can offer assistance and advice. What we cannot do is offer "off the shelf" democracy.

It is equally important that we meet with those most critical of the United States. To do otherwise is to preach to the choir. That, most certainly, is not my job. It is my job to help ensure that Saudi understanding of the United States is as accurate as possible. Thus, the *World Association of Muslim Youth* magazine printed verbatim my answers to important questions—an excellent opportunity for us to get America's views out to those



who most need to hear them. Would Mr. Schwartz prefer I only give interviews to the *Wall Street Journal* or The Weekly Standard?

Robert W. Jordan
U.S. Ambassador
Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

Throwing Out the Baath

While "Reading, Writing, De-Baathification" (May 12) by Meyrav Wurmser is obviously correct, the area in sore need of the de-Baathification (or, better still, rehumanization) is not limited to Iraq and Syria, but includes many other countries—Egypt, Libya, Jordan, Saudi Arabia among them. In these places education has long been supplemented with, or entirely replaced by, brainwashing. Rehumanization is most urgent in Arab nations around Israel if the "roadmap" has any chances of success.

According to the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), schoolbooks used by Arab children in the West Bank and Gaza often use the same anti-Semitic and anti-American rhetoric as schoolbooks in Iraq and Syria, while being paid for, at least in part, by American and Israeli taxpayers. It will come as no surprise to readers of The Weekly Standard that the U.N. has administered those schools for many years.

How long will it take to counteract such indoctrination? The Bible suggests 40 years—that was the time the Israelites wandered in the desert, waiting for the generation born in slavery to pass away. The examples of Germany and Japan are more encouraging. One thing is certain, though, it is almost impossible to completely redeem those who have been fully indoctrinated.

As a naturalized citizen born and educated (and indoctrinated) in the Soviet Union, I know about it firsthand—something still clings to the thought process even after many years of conscious resistance to the regime and almost fifteen years of freedom here in the United States.

Victor Levenson
Oak Park, IL

Books Break the Bank

A learned friend tells me that books on Hellenic poetry are notoriously expensive. Therefore, I shall be grateful if The Weekly Standard never publishes Joseph Epstein on these Greeks. Reading Epstein on Karl Shapiro ("The Return of Karl Shapiro?" May 12) resulted in my buying more books on modern poetry than I had bought in the previous 20 years.

Epstein's unique combination of wit, learning, and good sense threatens the financial security of all bibliophiles.

Alan Eade
Timonium, MD

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the weekly Standard

America's Next Great Newspaper

Conservatives, populists, humorists, smart alecks, men and women of good will everywhere, including even a few Blue America types—in sum, a solid majority of our fellow citizens—are enjoying the misery of the *New York Times*. It is hard not to relish the sight of smugness shown up, pomposity punctured, and self-righteousness smashed.

We're of two minds about the glee. On the one hand, there is much that is impressive, even admirable, about the *New York Times*. Its in-depth coverage of events overseas is unmatched, certainly in the American press, perhaps in the world. It covers the arts as no other American daily newspaper does. It has some star reporters who pretty reliably perform star turns (John Burns in Baghdad and Michael Gordon at the Pentagon come to mind). And, as the *Times*'s own, instantly notorious account of the Jayson Blair saga shows, there are competent and responsible editors in its ranks. What's more, and closer to home, the *Times* has been quite kind to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, even as we have rarely returned the favor.

Still, the simple truth is that a great democracy like ours deserves a first-rate newspaper of record. And the *New York Times* isn't it. The last couple of weeks make clear that there is no real hope that the *Times*, under its current regime, can become that paper. In their bizarre May 14 town meeting with the news staff, editor Howell Raines is reported to have said he would not resign, and owner Arthur Sulzberger that he would not accept such a resignation.

Even if Raines were to go, everything we know about Sulzberger suggests his next pick would be no improvement. Fundamental regime change at the *New York Times* is not in the cards. Inspections and sanctions won't work. Even the French can't help. The *Times* is irredeemable. The question is whether a new newspaper of record will replace it.

The country needs such a paper. Its editorial page could be conservative or liberal, as long as it was thoughtful and serious, and not ignorantly disdainful of Red America—or anyone else. Its op-ed page would be intellectually interesting, mature, and diverse. This paper's editor would never be the former editor of the editorial page. And it would be possible for a member of the staff to enjoy career advancement even if he were known to hold some politically incorrect views.

At this paper, too, "diversity" would be understood not merely in terms of skin color. Jayson Blair was a middle-class kid from suburban D.C., who attended a fine state school—not presumably an underrepresented class at the *New York Times*. Yet he was Howell Raines's idea, and totem—and a badly exploited totem—of "diversity."

The first-rate paper we need would have real diversity—of background, of experience, but especially of viewpoint. It wouldn't, for example, suppress columns by its own sportswriters who happened not to be entranced by the top brass's project of transforming an all-men's golf club.

More important, this new paper would serve its readers by producing serious "news analysis" on the leading stories of the moment, not unintentionally comical meditations by disengaged semi-retired reporters.

Furthermore, this new paper wouldn't create in its own ranks a "culture of fear." Its reporters and editors would speak their minds among themselves, without concern that a minority viewpoint might cause them to lose favor. In its 7,200-word examination of the Blair saga, the *Times* was unable to find a single staffer brave enough to dissent on the record from his publisher's "diversity" orthodoxy. Surely the *Times* isn't really so homogeneous as not to have such a staffer?

Finally, this new paper would have a culture of accountability without favoritism, and responsibility without defensiveness—the opposite of the current *Times* regime.

In sum, we need, and deserve, a great daily newspaper. That paper would be careful and truthful, lively and unpompous, confident and not smug—and, of course, fair, balanced, and unafraid. Who will found it?

—*William Kristol*

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Throwing Out the Baath Water

Saddam's henchmen gotta go.

BY RICHARD W. CARLSON

THE OTHER DAY, General Tommy Franks made a pleasing announcement: The ruling Baath Socialist party of Iraq was dead, its carcass hung upside down on a fence. After more than 30 years of torture, repression, and self-dealing, the party that had controlled every element of life in Iraq was officially banned.

Some socialists. Like British Labour member of parliament George Galloway, for whom Saddam was a secret Santa, the Baathists prattled on about helping the poor but only helped themselves, building palaces, porn collections, and private zoos, while doling out government jobs on every level without regard to merit.

But are the Baathists really gone, no longer governmental players? Not yet. They numbered about 1.5 million out of a population of 24 million, and there is reason to fear that they—like Rasputin, after being shot, bludgeoned, stuffed with cyanide, and thrown in the icy river—will continue to pop back up, refusing to die.

Late Friday, Iraqis received assurance from U.S. authorities in Baghdad that between 15,000 and 30,000 Arab Socialist Baath party members will be banned from government at any level, and that all Baathists will face scrutiny for past crimes. Basma Fakri of Women for a Free Iraq, which helped galvanize U.S. public opinion in support of the liberation of Iraq, was thrilled by the news. She said, "Not everyone in the Bush administration was equally committed to de-Baathification, or to the president's vision of a free, democratic Iraq. We needed a clear, public policy. We owe this to [Defense Secretary] Donald Rumsfeld and [Deputy Secretary] Paul Wolfowitz, who have never faltered."

Exactly what will be done with Baathists, beyond the attempt to exclude them from top leadership roles, is not yet clear. Nuremberg-like trials will be held for the worst of the offenders, but how far down the list should prosecutors go? Experiences with the fall of totalitarian governments from Nazi Germany to the Soviet Union, Romania, and South Africa offer varying methods of punishing wrongdoers and seeking truth and reconciliation—from the gallows to an Oprah-esque hug. Says one Defense official who asked not to be named, "We have a database in Washington for vetting [former members of the Baath party]. But the best database is the Iraqi people. They *know* who repressed them."

Kanan Makiya, author of a definitive work on Baathist Iraq, *Republic of Fear*, argues in the *New Republic Online* that the "most insidious presence" of the Baath party is in schools and universities, unions and women's groups, not in government ministries, with the exceptions of Interior, Education, and Defense, where their number and influence were prime. Makiya says that "seniority in the Baath party does not always translate into a position of power in the government, and conversely, not all officials who are guilty of crimes are high up in the Baath party hierarchy." Party membership was required of all police officers, mailmen, and schoolteachers.

The first order of business is the staffing of Iraq's ministries. The Pentagon has hired and given some training to a hundred or more Iraqi exiles, many from America, to work in reconstruction efforts both in ministries in Baghdad and in their own home provinces. The Iraqi Reconstruction and Development Council is now on the ground in Baghdad, organized and run by an Iraqi American from Michigan named Emad Dhia. The council is working to select qualified Iraqis for important bureaucratic posts. It aims to keep out the bad Baathists, while allowing those party members with benign or tenuous involvement with the past regime to be rehired. Estimates are that up to 50,000 Baath party members are among the fascist hard core, involved in repression and human rights abuses.

Timothy Carney, a former U.S. ambassador to Sudan (where the local Baath Socialist party was a running dog of Saddam's), is now in Baghdad and responsible for restarting the Industry Ministry. He was quoted in the *Washington Post* as saying that Iraqis, not Americans, must finally be the ones to push Baathists away from government jobs. The "ultimate triage is going to be with the future Iraqi authority," he said. For now, a number of mid to higher level Baathists of the reviled variety have remained in power or slipped back into the executive washroom.

Carney played a role in appointing former deputy minister Ahmed Rashid Gailini to lead the Ministry of Industry, until Iraqi colleagues raised such a clamor about the man's Baath connections that Carney removed him and put Gailini's leadership to a vote of subordinate managers. Gailini lost in a landslide to another man, Mohammed Abdul Mujib, a finance expert from another ministry and a less offensive Baathist.

The leader of the Health Ministry, until he was forced to quit last week, was Dr. Ali Shnan al-Janabi, a Baathist and former deputy at the ministry. Janabi had been asked to resign from the party in a public gesture imposed on him and others by a U.S. official, Stephen Browning. The

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KRT / Carl Juste

A Marine escorts Dr. Ali Shnan al-Janabi, the Baathist former health minister, after his resignation.

resignation was promptly derided as meaningless by Janabi's medical colleagues, who still consider him corrupt and an active fascist. Browning is new to the human rights business. He is a civilian employee of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers from San Francisco, seconded to the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance. After Janabi's appointment was publicly criticized, Browning demanded that Janabi denounce the Baath party. When he refused, Janabi was given the boot, though Browning described him as "a respected man" and thanked him for his services.

Many other ministries have retained Baathists in leadership roles, prompting ad hoc protests in front of ministry buildings by employees who consider every Baathist corrupt. "They're all crooks," said an accountant at the Trade Ministry, as reported by Peter Slevin and Rajiv Chandrasekaran of the *Washington Post*. "They should not be allowed to work," said the same man, who was with a group of co-workers demanding that they be paid their salaries and a bonus promised for last year.

"We have no obligation to make the country work better than it did before 1991. That will be up to the Iraqis," said a Defense Department official who requested anonymity. "There are probably 50,000 Baathists who should never be put back in power or authority. But we will make mistakes. We have already." One of those errors is at the Iraq Oil Ministry, where the United States has appointed Thamer Ghadhban, a ranking Baathist, to run things.

Professor Halal Taki was dean of the Institute of Informatics and director of the National Computer Center in Baghdad. He was imprisoned by the Baathists and recently emerged to form Free Iraqi Professors, which wants academic appointments to be made on merit. He said, in an e-mail to a friend in the United States, "Our efforts [with the American adviser to the Ministry of Higher Education] to keep Baathists from taking over the education ministry machinery were denied." In the same message, he said, "The Baathists are now poised to take control of education while Anti-Saddam Free Iraqis are at a disadvantage, and that process is continuing despite the removal of Barbara Bodine and others."

Bodine is the ex-"mayor of Baghdad," a post she held for about a month until she was fired last week. Bodine had been presented as a hero by the media 12 years ago when she was assigned to the U.S. Embassy in Kuwait, and she and the ambassador, low on food and water, hung on in Iraqi-occupied Kuwait for some four months. Later, however, as ambassador to Yemen, Bodine was criticized for interfering with the FBI probe into the bombing of the USS *Cole*, and her presence in Iraq was therefore controversial from the outset. The part she played in the hiring of Baath party members to run the government of liberated Iraq was probably a factor in her removal. "Imagine the allies letting the dust settle in Berlin in 1945 and allowing Nazis to throw away their swastikas and swagger sticks so they can have their jobs back," said a retired CIA operations officer in Washington.

American Robin Rafael is another of the key players in selecting the new leadership for Iraq. She recently okayed Saddam's personal physician, Mohammed al-Rawi, to be installed as president of Baghdad University, allowing the Baathists to retain control over the school. Ahmed Makki Saaed, a powerful party member whose wife is Huda Salih Mahdi Ammash, the microbiologist whose work on biological weapons for Saddam caused her to be known as "Mrs. Anthrax," is also still in place at Baghdad University as head of its computer programs.

"This is going on all over Iraq in jobs both large and small," said Danielle Pletka, a former Senate Foreign Relations Committee staffer who is a vice president at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C. "This is what happened in postwar Japan. You had well-intentioned Americans who wanted to make the trains run on time, and they turned to the only people who knew where the switches were. We should have

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planned this years ago, but the people who should have done that—State and CIA—didn't because they didn't want the war."

Robin Rafael is a career foreign service officer. She was criticized after the fall of Kabul, Afghanistan, in 1996, when she backed greater accommodation with the Taliban. The problem, of course, is not so much Rafael or any individual as it is the attitude at the State Department and elsewhere in the U.S. government, including the U.S. Central Command, that banks too much on "stability" and pragmatism and too little on principle.

Now, that may change. Paul Bremer landed in Baghdad on May 12 to assume control of reconstruction efforts, and General Jay Garner, Barbara Bodine, and Margaret Tutwiler, who handled communications for Garner's team, are on their way home. Garner was seen by many as disorganized and unprepared for his role, though he had a staff of 200. Tutwiler was not heard from after she arrived in Iraq. A public affairs specialist in the first Bush administration, she refused to talk with the press in Baghdad, according to reporters.

Bremer's appointment by President Bush to replace Garner was seen by Washington reporters as a victory for the State Department over the Pentagon. State wanted a civilian, and the DOD wanted a military man in charge. But that story is off the mark. It was really a victory for the tough-minded Donald Rumsfeld, who wanted Bremer, and for the Bush White House, which needs a man like Bremer in charge.

Bremer is a former Foreign Service officer and career ambassador (to the Netherlands) who retired as Ronald Reagan's chief of counterterrorism. He has a reputation as a tough, energetic, and disciplined manager. "He's a workaholic and indefatigable," says a former associate. Like President Bush, Bremer is a Yalie with a Harvard MBA. He speaks four languages and is smart. He is also a social and political conservative. His appointment occurred because of dissatisfaction in the administration with both the slow pace of reconstruction and the wrong-headed actions of some of those in charge.

Danielle Pletka of AEI thinks that President Bush "should stand up and articulate, as the first principle of governance for the new Iraq, that association with the previous government is disqualifying for a new government job." She doesn't have service personnel in mind. "We can make the distinction between a mailman and the minister of health," she said.

President Bush has an ambitious vision for Iraq: a free and peaceful democracy, a genuine American ally, and a leader in the Middle East in a way that Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and even Jordan have never been. Building that vision to last will require skillful architects and careful carpentry. Whatever staffing shifts and shuffles it demands will be worth the trouble. ♦

Michael Ramirez

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Oklahoma!

What were Texas's Democrats doing *there* last week? BY FRED BARNES

TEXAS DEMOCRATS were unusually hopeful in 2002, dubbing it the Year of the Comeback. But they lost horribly—including the highly publicized races by an African American for the Senate and a Latino for governor—and Republicans now hold all 29 statewide offices. Republicans captured 57 percent of the vote for U.S. House seats and also won the legislature for the first time in 130 years. Worse for Democrats, Republicans control the state senate (19 to 12) and state house (88 to 62) by sizable margins. By almost any definition, Texas has become a Republican state.

There is one aberration: Democrats hold 17 of the state's congressional seats to 15 for Republicans. The gap was even wider before the 2002 election (17 to 13), when a federal court stepped in. The court did little to narrow the gap, except to put the state's two new House seats in Republican territory. Now the Texas legislature is set to redraw the congressional map to favor Republicans, perhaps to the tune of a four-seat or better pickup in 2004.

There's a word for what Republicans want to do—gerrymandering. But of course that is quite normal. When Democrats controlled Texas, they regularly gerrymandered the districts to minimize the impact of the surging growth of Republican suburbs and rural areas. In 1991, Democrats pulled off what Michael Barone calls in the *Almanac of American Politics* "the shrewdest gerrymander of the 1990s." It allowed Democrats to win 70 percent of the House seats in 1992 (21 of 30), while winning just 50 percent to 48 percent in the popular vote for those seats.

What's not normal was the Democratic reaction to Republican redistricting this year. Democrats in the statehouse fled to Oklahoma in a huff, to prevent a quorum and thus block a vote on redistricting. And they dressed up their raw obstruction and unmitigated partisanship in the self-righteous language of majority rule and high principle. They seemed oblivious to the hypocrisy of barring Republicans from repeating what Democrats had been doing for decades. They denounced Republicans for acting as a "tyranny of the majority," when they were pursuing, successfully, a tyranny of the minority and cynically protecting their own gerrymandered preponderance of House seats.

The action of Texas Democrats is of a piece with the behavior of Democrats in Washington. For both, extreme measures that break sharply with the routine course of politics and governing are the order of the day. Why do they feel justified in doing this? I think it's based on the old saw that conservatives think liberals are stupid while liberals believe conservatives are evil. Both are wrong, but since George W. Bush became president in 2001, Democrats appear convinced he and his allies are indeed evil and that almost anything done to impede them is therefore not only acceptable but morally justified. So Democrats conduct filibusters to block conservative judicial nominees and treat Bush's presidency as illegitimate.

The normal way, tested over 200-plus years, is for majorities to govern—with limitations. When one party wins, it shapes voting districts to its liking. If it does so too egregiously, the other party goes to court. Legislators don't storm out in high dudgeon. Why? Because gerrymandering is self-correcting. What one party does is later undone by the other party or by the courts.

Fred Barnes is executive editor of THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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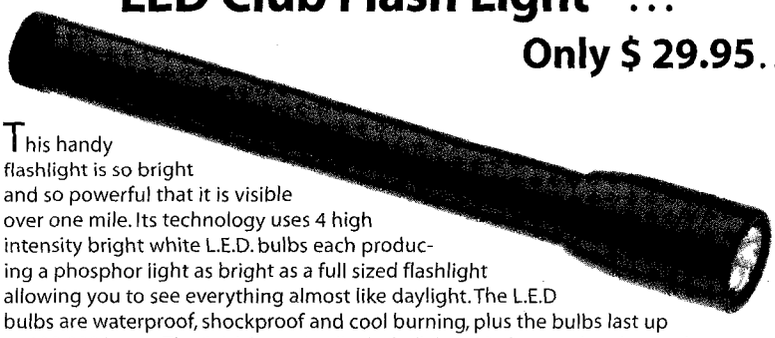

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The same is true with the appointment of federal appeals court judges. Democratic presidents tend to nominate liberal judges. Republicans choose conservative judges. The result is the appeals courts sometimes tilt conservative, sometimes liberal, but rarely are dominated by either side. Things balance out. In any case, Senate Democrats have decided Bush is not entitled to place many conservatives on the bench. Lacking the votes to stop this, they've decided to use the filibuster, which allows a minority to defy the majority. They mask their power play as defiance of "court packing." When filibusters were staged by Southern Democratic segregationists or Republicans, the media covered them disapprovingly. Now that liberals are the filibusterers, the press is more positive.

Democrats are comfortable with such extraordinary and unprecedented action because of their bitter view of Bush. Only a few Democrats in Washington persist in talking of the president as "selected, not elected," but many still think that. (They'd have been delighted, of course, if the Florida Supreme Court had "selected" Al Gore to be president.) To Democrats, it would be one thing if Bush, acknowledging his dubious election, were to govern jointly with congressional Democrats, despite Republican control of the Senate and House. Instead, the president pushes his conservative agenda and aggressive foreign policy. Democrats in Washington think this is overreaching, and makes their extreme measures the appropriate response.

Likewise for Texas Democrats, who are doing no better than their colleagues in Washington at adjusting to minority status. They are currently basking in the adulation of the political left. Willie Nelson sent them red bandannas. Molly Ivins love-bombed them in a column that called Republicans fascists and Shiites. Democratic Rep. Martin Frost was emboldened to attack the Republican reapportionment as Nixonian and "an unprecedented, partisan power grab." He must have a short memory. Frost was the architect of the Democratic gerrymander in 1991. ♦

New Sheriff in Town

Paul Bremer is quick on the draw.

BY STEPHEN F. HAYES

PAUL BREMER, the new civilian administrator of Iraq, arrived in the Middle East on Sunday, May 11. The same day, the front page of the *Washington Post* announced that Barbara Bodine, an American diplomat in charge of postwar Baghdad, would be leaving. On May 13, the controversial interim health minister, a man with deep ties to Saddam Hussein's Baath party, quit his post under pressure after just 10 days. The next day, the Pentagon announced that 15,000 more U.S. troops would head to Iraq to restore order. By Thursday, Iraqis were told that possessing or selling guns was grounds for arrest, and a long-overdue de-Baathification policy had been put in place. And on Friday, Bremer announced that between 15,000 and 30,000 Saddam sympathizers would be ineligible for any role in the new Iraqi government.

In the weeks since the fall of Baghdad, as prominent Shia clerics won the attention of news cameras and reporters by holding rallies and calling for American troops to leave Iraq, many of their countrymen, including those cooperating with coalition reconstruction efforts, have been quietly urging a stronger American presence. In Bremer, they got it.

Bremer is a career State Department official who has served six secretaries of state over 23 years. In 1989, he headed a task force on counterterrorism for President Reagan. Following his service in government, Bremer worked for Henry Kissinger's consulting firm.

To say that Bremer comes as a nonsense administrator doesn't begin to capture his single-minded determination to effect a smooth and relatively quick transition from U.S. occupation to Iraqi self-rule. He has already shown a willingness to dispense with the ego-massaging and faction-appeasing that can prove lethal to such a huge project—and that's just inside the Bush administration. Those who have worked with Bremer in the brief time since he was named say he has a blunt, sometimes brusque manner, with an emphasis on results over discussion. "He's not at all afraid to piss people off," says one Defense official.

The Pentagon had plans to bring in a civilian administrator well before the war began. Retired general Jay Garner was chosen to lead the immediate U.S. postwar effort because of his successful stewardship of Operation Provide Comfort in northern Iraq following the first Gulf War. But his role was primarily a practical one. "Garner was always the trains-run-on-time guy," says a Pentagon official.

Some on the Bush administration's national security team had hoped that Garner would "rise to the occasion" and handle some political aspects of reconstruction. But he repeatedly made clear his strong preference for leaving that work to others, chiefly presidential envoy Zalmay Khalilzad.

Khalilzad is credited with a successful political transition following the war in Afghanistan. But Iraq is not Afghanistan, and several administration sources say that the Afghan model Khalilzad tried to apply, with its heavy reliance on tribal leaders, was ill-suited to the political realities of Iraq.

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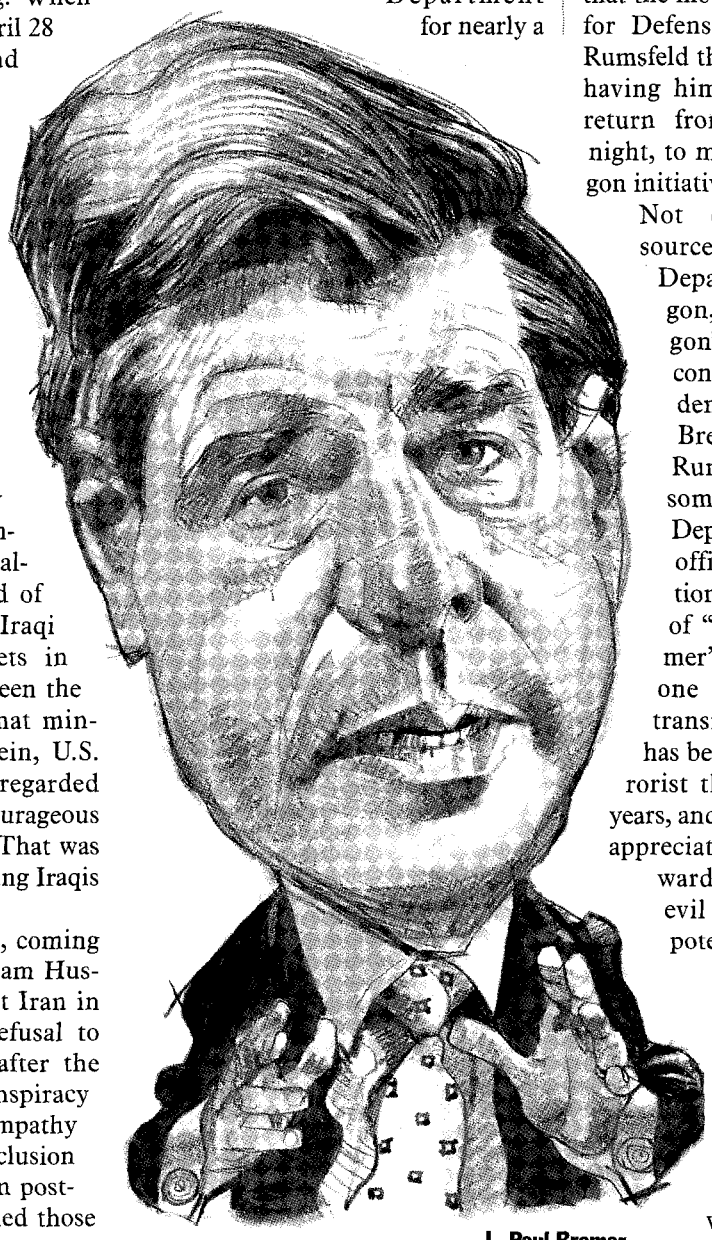
After the fall of Saddam Hussein's government, these sources say, U.S. planners were intent on listening to Iraqis' ideas about democracy. A certain amount of consultation, of course, is important. The Iraqis, after all, know their country. But too much listening can be paralyzing. When Iraqi leaders gathered on April 28 in Baghdad for the second governance conference, they demanded a plan. Khalilzad failed to share one, and, despite assurances offered by other Americans in attendance, some of the Iraqis left the gathering deeply concerned.

To make matters worse, Barbara Bodine and others in the postwar operation seemed to have a soft spot for former Baath party members. When U.S. administrators named Ali Shnan al-Janabi as the interim head of the Ministry of Health, Iraqi doctors took to the streets in protest. Although he had been the third-ranking official in that ministry under Saddam Hussein, U.S. officials noted that some regarded him as a "respected and courageous doctor and administrator." That was not the message long-suffering Iraqis wanted to hear.

Such American missteps, coming after U.S. support for Saddam Hussein during his war against Iran in the 1980s and the U.S. refusal to remove Saddam in 1991 after the Gulf War, only confirm conspiracy theories about American sympathy for the Baath party. The inclusion of high-ranking Baathists in postwar administration has fueled those concerns.

Bremer sought to ease those anxieties at a press conference in Baghdad on Thursday. Inaugurating the era of the stern father, after Bodine and Khalilzad's permissive-mother regime, Bremer said, "We are determined that Baathists and Saddamism will not come back to Iraq."

Bremer's appointment was a rare Washington event: It seemed at first to please everyone. Diplomats at the State Department quickly phoned friendly journalists and declared Bremer's selection a win for Colin Powell and the Foggy Bottom crowd. Bremer had worked at the State Department for nearly a quarter century, they explained, and would bring to the job the sophistication of a career foreign service officer and the temperament of a civil servant who understands that the world is gray.



L. Paul Bremer

Illustration by Thomas Fluharty

"The choice of Mr. Bremer is a victory for the State Department over the Pentagon," reported Stephen Weisman in the May 2, 2003, *New York Times*, "and comes after weeks of what many officials say has been a sharp dispute between the two agencies. . . . The decision has been tightly held. Some administration officials were so concerned that the move not look like a setback for Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld that they were considering having him announce it upon his return from Baghdad on Friday night, to make it look like a Pentagon initiative."

Not exactly. According to sources at both the State Department and the Pentagon, Bremer was the Pentagon's choice, made in close consultation with Vice President Dick Cheney's office. Bremer reports directly to Rumsfeld. That reality has some folks at the State Department grumbling. One official described the reaction at Foggy Bottom as one of "surprise," adding, "Bremer's selection 'pleased everyone who wants to see this transition succeed.'" Bremer has been warning about the terrorist threat from al Qaeda for years, and Pentagon officials say he appreciates President Bush's forward-leaning, good-versus-evil understanding of the potential threats.

The Pentagon has set as Bremer's top priorities security/stability and de-Baathification. Progress on both fronts will be crucial to gaining the trust of Iraqis and moving forward with a political agenda, something Bremer has said he hopes to do quickly.

"The coalition will work to provide the conditions for Iraqis to govern themselves in the future," he said on Thursday. "To that end, the Coalition Provisional Authority will work with responsible Iraqis to begin the process of establishing a government representative of all Iraqi people." ♦

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Mission: Possible

What the Christian relief organizations are really up to in Iraq. BY JOSEPH LOCONTE

NUMEROUS HAZARDS threaten U.S. democracy-building in Iraq. They include theocratic Shia radicals, mischief and thuggery by Baath party officials, misjudgments by American officials, and—to hear some critics tell it—the presence of Christian relief organizations.

Media stories over the last several months have likened the operations of relief agencies to the tactics of the Crusaders. Editors at *Time* sent a memo (obtained by *World* magazine) to reporters worldwide to gather material for a cover story about the "radical crew of proselytizers" doing humanitarian work in Muslim countries. "Do the missionaries feel that their goals are consistent with those of the U.S. State Department?" the memo asked.

Others are demanding that groups such as Franklin Graham's Samaritan's Purse be kept out of Iraq. "In some places it might even be worth allowing its relief workers in at the risk of offending people's religious sensibilities," intoned a recent *Washington Post* editorial. "But postwar Iraq is not one of those places." Writing for *Slate*, *Beliefnet*'s Steven Waldman complained that "what Graham is doing probably isn't illegal; it's merely immoral."

Such criticism suggests that old stereotypes of Bible-pounding, cross-waving missionaries are alive and well. In reality, most relief organizations subscribe to a "code of conduct" established by the International Red Cross to protect the rights of people receiving assistance. It includes a "humanitarian imperative," emphasizing that aid be given regardless of race, creed, or nationality. Most Christian humanitarian groups, including Samaritan's Purse, operate pretty much the same way: They dispatch workers to dangerous and impoverished parts of the world to provide food, water, medical care, and other services in the name of Jesus. Franklin Graham, son of evangelist Billy Graham, is not shy about his aim to "share the news of the only One who can bring true peace." Yet when Samaritan's Purse distributes water systems and medical kits to 100,000 Iraqis, as it plans over the next few months, it will do so without regard to the recipients' religious views.

Officials told me they knew of no Christian agencies that condition aid on their ability to evangelize. "When our workers go into a place to provide relief, their primary concern is to offer a tangible expression of God's love," says Mark Kelly of the International Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. "They respond to questions people ask, but there are no aggressive attempts to persuade people about matters of faith."

Nevertheless, many assume that Christian ministries will be viewed as covert agents of an American war on Islam. Muslim scholar Abdulaziz Sachedina told *Christianity Today* that evangelistic groups should "wait until things cool off" in Iraq. That could take some waiting. According to Dana Robert of Boston University's School of Theology, missionaries are inevitably seen as "representatives of Western political and economic power." Yet they're not the only ones: Because most Islamic countries lack a truly independent civil society, the same suspicion that greets Christian aid workers extends equally to Western non-governmental organizations.

Christian NGOs, however, appear as capable as their secular counterparts at overcoming local antagonism. Many evangelical charities, for example, have an impressive track record of assistance to Muslims. World Concern, launched in 1955, now operates in 30 countries, some with Islamic majorities. "Some of the most sensitive countries are the ones in which we've worked longest," says president Paul Kennel. Compassion International has cared for needy children in Islamic states since the 1960s. World Vision has provided food aid in the Middle East for over 25 years. "We don't go in through the back door," says public policy director Serge Duss. "We're invited in by government leaders."

Typically, Christian relief groups work with indigenous churches and other established local organizations. Venture International pairs Christian families in the Middle East with Muslim families to provide shelter, education, and job training. International Aid, which offers free medical care, is tapping a network of 72 Christian congregations in Iraq to set up medical clinics around the country. "The churches are our eyes and ears and are sensitive to cultural conflicts," says president Myles Fish. "The people coming for help know who the host is, so it's not an offense to them."

Certainly, some ministers have heedlessly given offense to Muslims, with clumsy criticisms following the September 11 terrorist attacks. Franklin Graham called Islam "very evil and wicked," while former Southern Baptist Convention president Jerry Vines told fellow Baptists that Muhammad was a "demon-possessed pedophile." Such comments, recycled endlessly by fiery clerics, surely don't help ease suspicions. But they are exceptions. No Christian minister of any repute has called for a "holy war" against Islam, and relief groups tend to approach their humanitarian work with great political and theological delicacy. Evangelism, when allowed by local laws, hardly seems aggressive: It may involve conversations about faith or the distribution of Bibles or religious literature. Charity leaders frequently stress their regard for Mus-

Joseph Loconte is the William E. Simon fellow in Religion and a Free Society at the Heritage Foundation and a commentator for National Public Radio.

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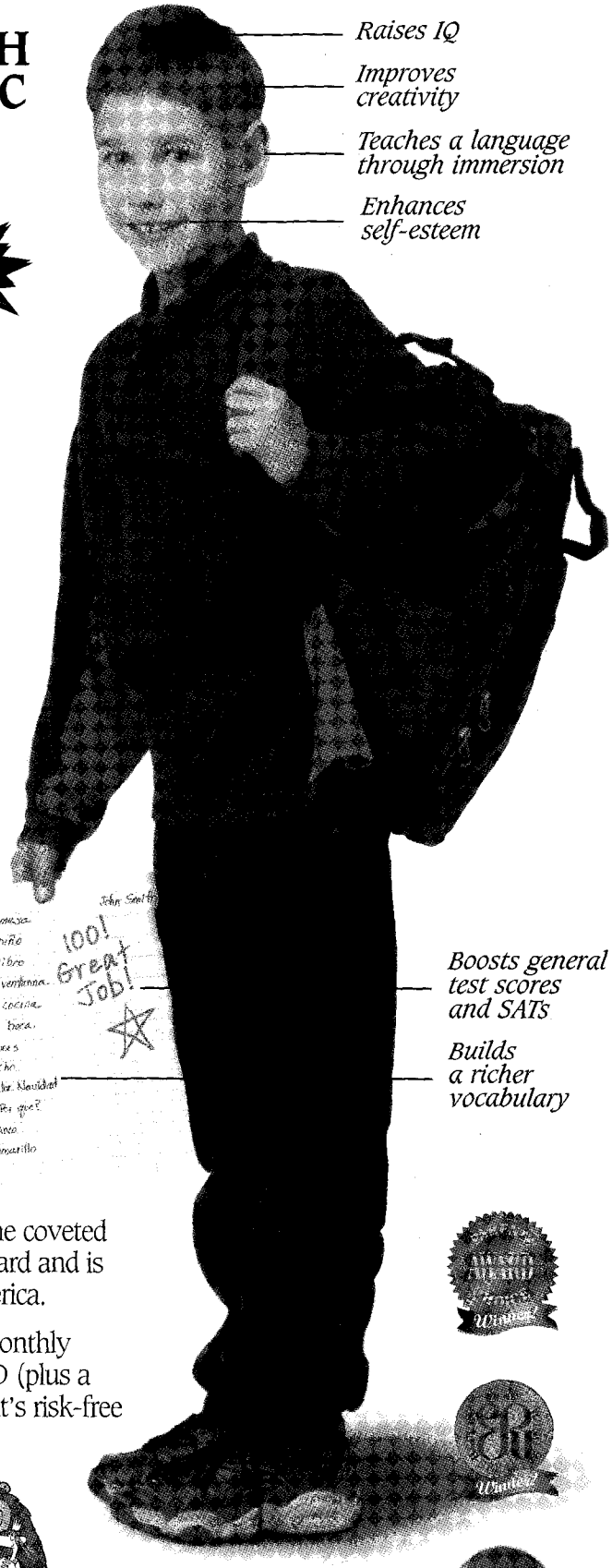

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lims as made in God's image and objects of divine love.

Nevertheless, many critics resent an evangelical faith that mixes Christian proclamation with Christian compassion; they simply equate evangelism with coercion. That was the subtext for several speakers at a recent gathering of religious relief organizations in Washington, D.C. "We do not actively proselytize," Behram Pastakia, of the Zoroastrian Association of Metropolitan Washington, assured his colleagues. "Ours is a religion of individual choice." Charles Kimball, author of *When Religion Becomes Evil*, claims that missionary activity motivated by "absolute truth claims" invites intolerance and violence. Liberal Christians often say the same. "Most faith-related aid groups say that even subtle proselytizing would endanger their goodwill efforts," warn editors at the *Christian Century*. Lutheran World Relief does not evangelize. "Our policy is to help humans, not bring them to Jesus," says a spokesman. The same is true at Church World Service, the relief arm of mainline Protestant churches. "We are very specifically a humanitarian aid agency," spokesperson Jan Dragin told *Beliefnet*. "It just so happens our roots are faith-based."

The White House doesn't appear to share this secularizing bent. Last December, President Bush created an Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives at the Agency for International Development to support religious charities in developing nations. Says AID administrator Andrew Natsios: "Such organizations are able to address the deepest and most profound needs of human society." Bush clearly sees their work as consistent with efforts to extend political and religious freedom abroad. Against calls to ban evangelical charities from Iraq, the White House says it won't blacklist organizations because of their religious beliefs. (Indeed, under the Constitution, it couldn't do so, short of banning all private relief groups, secular and religious.)

Undoubtedly, as the *Time* memo suggests, the State Department's work can be made more complicated by religious groups whose goals it doesn't direct. In an earlier era of nation-building—back in the days of Britain's East India Company—the entry of missionaries into foreign lands was restricted "to protect the native inhabitants in the free and undisturbed possession of their religious opinions." And also, of course, to protect lucrative trade relations from disruption by faith-based reformers. In the 18th century that meant cheap opium from India and slaves from Africa. "There could not be a greater contrast between the missionaries' motives," writes Niall Ferguson of New York University, "and those of previous generations of empire-builders, the swashbucklers, the slavers and the settlers." Today's critics also appear earthly minded. Their solicitude for the "religious sensibilities" of Muslims can be hard to distinguish from the goal of upholding the secular ethos of international development efforts.

Peter Steiner

As for the motives of Christians involved in works of mercy, most would point to the example of Jesus in the gospels. When he encountered a crowd of anxious pilgrims, "he welcomed them and spoke to them about the kingdom of God, and healed those who needed healing." Iraq surely could use a measure of healing these days, and evangelical charities are a decent place to find it. ♦

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Spending Their Way Out of Debt

The New York solution to a budget crisis.

BY WILLIAM TUCKER

New York

NEARLY ALL 50 states are experiencing budget crises, with California in the worst shape, facing a $38.2 billion deficit. Even Arizona has a $1.3 billion shortfall. Washington state has had to close schools. Connecticut is cutting 2,800 public employees. In this context, New York state's $11.5 billion deficit on a $92 billion budget is only slightly above average, while New York City's $4.5 billion shortfall in a $40 billion budget wins an honorable mention.

What distinguishes New York is that nowhere else in the country are public officials *increasing* spending in response to the crisis. Here, even as the city drowns in Medicaid expenses, Mayor Bloomberg continues an "outreach" effort to sign up more recipients. In Albany, Republicans and Democrats have joined hands to restore $2 billion that Governor George Pataki had cut from their $92 billion budget. Otherwise, as the *New York Times* lamented, schools and hospitals might have to reduce spending.

With belt-tightening off the table, the debate has concentrated on personalities. Pataki is said to hate New York City and to be grandstanding for Washington because he opposes tax increases. Joe Bruno, the formerly conservative Republican senate majority leader, is made out to be the city's savior for switching sides and voting with the Democrats. Assembly Democratic majority leader Sheldon Silver, the Mephistophelean figure who kicked off the crisis two years ago by abolishing the city's commuter tax, only smiles in the background.

Mayor Bloomberg has become the barker for the Grand Guignol. To soften up the public for tax increases, he trotted out the usual doomsday budget, which proposed, among other things, closing the Prospect Park and Queens zoos (savings: $8.6 million). Albany came through with the tax increases, of course, yet the mayor has come off as an insensitive businessman out of touch with the needs of ordinary people.

If there is one reason for New York city and state's budget deficits, it is Albany's 1969 decision to employ Medicaid as a tool for leveraging federal dollars. In 49 other states, the state shoulders the entire Medicaid burden. Each dollar is then matched by federal dollars. In an effort to pump more money out of Washington, however, Albany decided that for every dollar the state spent, local government would cough up another dollar. This effectively doubled the number of dollars Washington had to match.

Medicaid is busting budgets in every state, but in New York it is taking over the economy. To put the burden in perspective, New York City's 2003 Medicaid bill—$3.5 billion—will exceed the entire municipal budget of every American city except Los Angeles ($4.5 billion) and Chicago ($3.9 billion). One out of every five city residents is on Medicaid. Per capita, every New Yorker pays $875 a year for other people's medical expenses.

Upstate is suffering the same fate. In Broome County (Binghamton), Medicaid absorbs 78 percent of the local property tax and will take 200 percent by 2012. The county expects to run out of cash in November. The only conceivable solution is for Albany to assume complete responsibility for Medicaid and let the state legislature work out the problem. Not in New York. Even as local governments go broke, the state legislature is busy pushing *more* Medicaid spending down to their level.

This social-service economy is strangling the hub of American capitalism. While one in five Wall Street employees has lost his job since 2000, the city's health and welfare sector grows 3 percent every year. Of New York City's top 25 employers, nine are hospitals. Only six are banks and investment houses. Social services recently passed financial services as the city's largest economic sector.

Such hospitals and social service organizations *live* on taxes. Medicaid pays 26 percent of the bill in private hospitals and 59 percent in the New York City Health and Hospital Corporation's sprawling network of hospitals and clinics. Medicare picks up another 37 percent and 20 percent respectively. Of course, none of these facilities pay taxes. They are all municipals or nonprofits.

That's why Kenneth Raske, president of the Greater New York Hospital Association, joined hands with Dennis Rivera, president of Local 1199, the largest hospital union in the world, to create an $11 million "Healthcare Education Project" that ran TV ads all spring warning of the horrors that would occur if taxes weren't raised. With 220,000 members, Local 1199 already represents a significant portion of the electorate. Governor Pataki initiated the crisis himself in 2001 when he bought Rivera's election-year support by guaranteeing union members a "living wage" out of Medicaid funds. This year's debate climaxed when Senator Bruno told a cheering throng of 25,000 hospital workers brought to Albany by the Healthcare

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Education Project: "We will make sure your needs are met."

"In New York City, there are 38 government and health care workers for every 100 private sector workers," says Steve Kagann, chief economist to Pataki. "In the rest of the country it's 29. That's the difference."

And so, taxes in both the city and the state are going up as usual. The city's sales tax will rise from 8.25 percent to 8.63 percent. (Large numbers of New Yorkers already shop elsewhere to avoid the tax.) Individuals with incomes over $100,000 and couples making more than $150,000 will have their rates raised from 3.65 percent to 4.25 percent. Anyone making over $500,000 will pay 4.45 percent.

At LeFrak's Newport, a 600-acre development right across the Hudson, the average applicant for an apartment is 29 years old and makes $120,000. The exodus has already begun.

The U.S. Customs House, which has resided in Lower Manhattan since the 18th century, has moved all but a handful of employees to Newark. J.P. Morgan Chase & Co. is outsourcing research to Bombay. In 2002, John Wiley & Sons, the original publisher of *Moby Dick*, moved to Hoboken after being in Manhattan since 1807. Rather than lower taxes across the board, the Bloomberg administration continues the disastrous policy of giving huge tax exemptions to a few high-profile companies (Pfizer, Bear Stearns), while raising taxes on everybody else.

Witnessing a New York budget crisis is like watching Greek tragedy. No matter what the characters say, you know exactly what they're going to do. In 1969, Mayor John Lindsay solved his shortfall by imposing a city income tax, practicing "deferred maintenance," and raiding capital funds for day-to-day expenses. The result was a municipal meltdown that brought the city to its knees within five years. In 1990, Governor Mario Cuomo and Mayor Dinkins responded to a national downturn by raising taxes. As a result, New York lost one out of every four jobs eliminated by the 1990-92 recession.

Now city and state officials are determined to turn another national slowdown into a permanent downward ratcheting of New York's fortunes. By the time Republicans arrive in Manhattan for their 2004 convention, there may be little to celebrate. ♦

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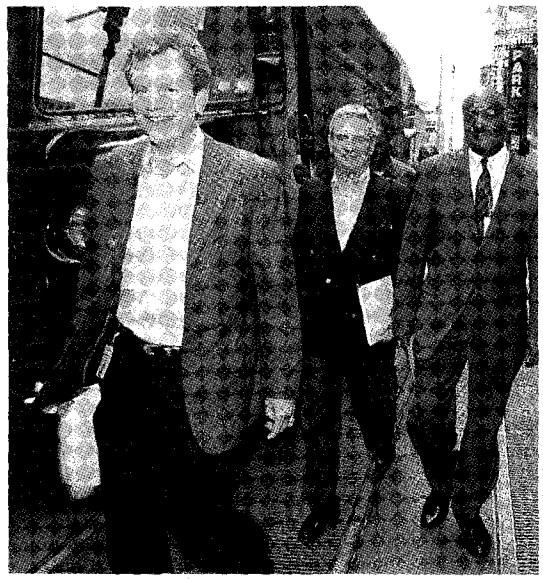
The *New York Times*'s Meltdown

What explains it?

By Christopher Caldwell

New York

Last Wednesday, the hundreds of *New York Times* staff lined up outside the Loew's Astor Theater on West 44th Street, a block from their offices, felt like they were part of a "perp walk," as one of them put it. As they filed into the front entrance (beneath a marquee advertising a film called *Identity*), the paper's top brass—publisher Arthur Sulzberger Jr., editor Howell Raines, and managing editor Gerald Boyd—rushed down an alleyway (past the poster for *Anger Management*) and into a side entrance (past the poster for *On the Ropes*). An emergency meeting, closed to the public, had been called to discuss a crisis that began as a scandal over one reporter's plagiarism and fabrication, and has blossomed into an institution-wide crisis that the *Times* itself describes as "a low point in the 152-year history" of the paper.



AP / Mary Altaffer

Sulzberger, Raines, and Boyd

In late April, the editor of the *San Antonio Express-News* read a story by young *Times* reporter Jayson Blair about Juanita Anguiano, the mother of an Iraq war MIA. He found that large tranches of it had been plagiarized from an article by an *Express-News* reporter—who had, coincidentally or not, known Blair as an intern at the *Times* half a decade before. Blair's editors were alarmed, but not all of them were surprised. A smart, affable, 27-year-old black kid from the upper-middle-class suburbs of Washington, D.C., Blair had always had a reputation within the paper as a sloppy reporter. Now, internal investigations for plagiarism showed an almost unbelievable pattern of deceit. For months and even years, Blair had invented quotations and descriptions. He had lifted material from other journalists without attribution. He had faked whole trips, penning stories from his Brooklyn apartment, relying on a *New York Times* bank of unpublished photographs to help him set the scene.

Blair had written about 700 stories for the *Times* since leaving the University of Maryland (from which, unbeknownst to his future employers, he did not graduate). A full accounting is still in progress, but a 7,200-word article assembled by a seven-man *Times* team of writers, editors, and lawyers and published on Sunday, May 11, found that at least 36 of 73 stories Blair filed since October are substantially invented, stolen, or factually compromised, including at least 29 with fraudulent datelines. In a story datelined Palestine, West Virginia, Blair described the way Iraq war hero Jessica Lynch's father "choked up as he stood on his porch here overlooking the tobacco fields and cattle pastures, and declared that he remained optimistic." Had Blair ever gone to Palestine, West Virginia, he would have discovered that the Lynch house was nowhere near tobacco fields. *Washington Post* media critic Howard Kurtz came up with five people—including three soldiers' parents—with whom Blair had faked interviews, and even identified an instance when, as a cub reporter for the *Boston Globe*, he had lifted an interview with Washington mayor Anthony Williams from the *Post*.

Blair had been in a lot of trouble of late. In November, he wrote a story about how certain universities exaggerate

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Times Writer Who Resigned Leaves a Trail of Deception And Broken Trust at Paper

CORRECTING THE RECORD: A Reporter's Page

The Spots: A Pattern Of Deception

The Lessons: When Wrong, Get Right

The Reporter: An Engaging Air, A Hope for Success

The Reporter: Reporting Process Toyed With Lies

football attendance in order meet the minimum levels for Division I-A status. The athletic director at Kent State claimed he'd been quoted without having talked to Blair. In December, Virginia state attorney Robert Horan Jr. called a press conference to address an alleged "leak" in the D.C. sniper investigation reported by Blair, and indicated he suspected a fabrication. "I don't think that anybody in the investigation is responsible for the leak, because so much of it was dead wrong," Horan said. Blair is now the target of a U.S. attorney's investigation, the *Times* announced last week. (One can speculate—and it is only speculation—that Blair's report of nonexistent irregularities in the sniper investigation might involve obstruction of justice.)

Yet, although several *Times* editors had been alarmed at the slipshod quality of Blair's work, although he had even been reprimanded, he kept getting promoted, formally and informally, first to a regular position at the paper, then to some of the biggest national stories of the day, from the Washington sniper to the domestic fallout from the Iraq war. How could the *Times* have been so blind? Several explanations were put forward in the days after Blair resigned in early May: (1) that Blair had been protected by a left-drifting *Times* hierarchy bent on racial diversity; (2) that Blair rose thanks to the corruption and mismanagement of the *Times* itself; (3) that Blair was a con man of rare gifts; and (4) that Blair's misdeeds were just one manifestation of a continuing crisis in American journalism. Any of those reasons would have been sufficient to draw *Times* reporters to the closed meeting at the Astor Theater on Wednesday, and they will be sufficient to keep the Blair scandal roiling long beyond that.

1. The Race Explanation

Blogger Mickey Kaus of *Kausfiles.com* has been the leading exponent of the theory that the Blair mess is a "fairly direct consequence of the *Times*'s misguided race preference policy." Columnist Richard Cohen agrees, as do several *Times* journalists. Less politely, conservative author Ann Coulter jokes, "Raines jettisoned the *Times'* famous slogan, 'All the News That's Fit to Print,' preferring the slogan: 'The *New York Times*: Now With Even More Black People!'" In this view, you can link Blair's survival to any epiphenomenon you like—but the essential phenomenon is race.

Blair was brought into the organization through an internship program that, according to the *Times*, "was then being used in large part to help the paper diversify its newsroom." Editor Howell Raines, a southern liberal, specifically cited Blair before the National Association of Black Journalists in 2001 as the first fruits of a hiring campaign that "has made our staff better and, more importantly, more diverse." (No need to italicize that "more importantly.") The best evidence for the centrality of race is that Raines insists on taking credit for it: "You have a right to ask if I, as a white man from Alabama, with those convictions, gave him one chance too many by not stopping his appointment to the sniper team. When I look into my heart for the truth of that, the answer is yes." This is an extraordinary inversion of politically correct logic: Raines is begging for forgiveness on the grounds of membership in the *oppressor* class. The *Times*'s controversial crusade to open to women the Augusta National Golf Club in Georgia—which led the paper's brass to suppress two sports columns—smacks of a similar inverted southern ethnocentrism.

Even backers of affirmative action see something fishy about the way diversity has been administered at the *Times*. Tim Rutten of the *Los Angeles Times*, who suggests—lamely—that the Blair affair might show the need for *more* affirmative action in the newsroom ("It may be

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Witnesses and Documents Unveil Deceptions In a Reporter's Work

The May 11 mega-correction (opposite and above)

that the paucity of black reporters at the *Times* led editors there to make extraordinary . . . accommodations for a clearly troubled young reporter"), finds the discussion of race the "least credible and complete portion of the *Times*' account" published Sunday. Rutten admired the paper's honesty about Blair's misdeeds, but faulted it for being "less forthcoming about the close mentor-protégé relationship" between Blair and managing editor Gerald Boyd.

2. The Corporate Explanation

A misguided racial policy is, of course, to be blamed on those who make it. The standard-bearer for the thesis that the *Times* is suffering from rotten leadership is Andrew Sullivan, who opened his blog to a running criticism of the *Times* shortly after Raines took over in September 2001. Formerly a frequent contributor, Sullivan found himself frozen out of the *Times*. Sullivan's point has a certain logic. As one of his correspondents put it: "You cannot have 1,000 journalists in a building—people trained to sniff out problems—and MISS this problem unless there were some kind of cultural blinkering going on."

Outside the *Times*, the heart of the attack on Raines is that he has driven the paper hard to the left, and that he has watered down the news coverage with *sub rosa* editorializing and tendentious trend pieces. Inside the paper, the top gripe is that Raines runs the newsroom with an iron fist. One *Times* man told the *New York Post*, "Howell didn't listen . . . to anyone about anything." Media critic Ken Auletta spoke of a "culture of fear," and Raines himself acknowledged a "climate of fear" at the meeting. As the brave deputy metropolitan editor Joe Sexton put it at the closed meeting, "I believe that at a deep level you guys have lost the confidence of many parts of the newsroom. . . . I do not feel a sense of trust and reassurance that judgments are properly made. . . . People feel less led than bullied."

If the problem were just diversity, then small adjustments of policy would remedy it. If the problem is indeed management, then only a root-and-branch reordering will suffice. One of the purposes of Wednesday's meeting was to convey that no such reordering will take place. Raines was asked point-blank if he was considering resigning. Raines said he'd leave only if Sulzberger fired him; Sulzberger then said he would refuse Raines's resignation if it were offered. Sulzberger casts the problem as a simple failure of communication. "The person who did this is Jayson Blair," Sulzberger told his own reporters in the long Sunday piece. "Let's not begin to demonize our executives." This may have been the most widely ridiculed utterance of the whole scandal. For especially in the Raines era, the *New York Times*'s modus operandi in any corporate scandal or abuse of the public trust has been to follow a misdeed up to the very top of the corporate ladder, asking: *What did he know and when did he know it?*

Indeed, the way Blair's misreporting escaped detection and chastisement remains the most difficult-to-fathom aspect of the case. There were plenty of warnings. Blair's sniper reporting was doubted by the *Times*'s Washington bureau. Metropolitan editors Joyce Purnick and Jonathan Landman steadily warned that Blair was a scandal in the making. Landman in particular noted that Blair made three times as many mistakes as anyone else at the paper. He wrote a note about Blair's "extraordinarily high" correction rate and forwarded it to Gerald Boyd and another editor with the note: "There's big trouble I want you both to be aware of." According to the paper's own accounting, between 1998 and 2000, corrections were necessary on between 5 and 6.3 percent of Blair's stories. After September 11, his accuracy took a nosedive, with the *Times* being forced to correct about 16 percent. (This does

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not gibe with the official *Times* position that, "when considered over all, Mr. Blair's correction rate at the *Times* was within acceptable limits.") Blair was warned about his work verbally and in memos. He took a leave of absence after one such dressing-down in early 2002. When he returned and did sloppy work, Landman wrote, in April 2002: "We have to stop Jayson from writing for the *Times*. Right now."

Landman is the hero of the *Times* account of the story. But his warnings about promoting Blair have a vatic quality, as if he's talking to himself. Missing are those voices within the paper who insisted on promoting Blair, and against whom Landman is presumably battling. In mid-2002, Blair was put on a "tough-love plan" under Landman's supervision, but quickly sought a way to leave it. He was ready to go to the sports department, which would have provided a diplomatic way to keep his mistakes from being too consequential. Landman warned the sports editor, "If you take Jayson, be careful." But suddenly, in October 2002, the national desk being "understaffed," Blair was assigned to the D.C. sniper case, the hottest story in the country. He would work under national editor Jim Roberts—although Roberts would not be told, as the sports editor was, about Blair's accuracy problems. Roberts didn't find out about Blair's history of errors until Landman told him earlier this year. Raines suggested to Roberts that Blair be tried out for a permanent position on the paper's national bureau. Roberts resisted.

Blair got a spectacular series of scoops—details of interrogations, new evidence—that an all-star team of national reporters from all over the country, including several at his own paper, missed. As Tim Rutten asked in the *Los Angeles Times*, "Why did no one on a paper that prides itself on its top editors' extensive reportorial backgrounds ever question how a relatively inexperienced young journalist could parachute into a tense, complex, multi-jurisdictional investigation and suddenly find himself in possession of up to five confidential law enforcement sources?" And why was Blair moved from sports desk to sniper story in the first place? And why wasn't Roberts warned?

Such open questions have not stopped Raines from taking credit in public for Landman's whistle-blowing. "As we've gone back through the record," Raines told National Public Radio, "we found that we responded in a very aggressive way. Jayson's supervisor, John Landman, and our training editor, Nancy Sharkey, wrote a large number of memos to Jayson warning him about errors, and not only warning but taking steps to correct them."

The only thing Raines neglects to mention is that Landman wrote memos up the corporate ladder as well as down.

3. The Con Job Explanation

If Jonathan Landman saw through Blair on a textual level, his co-editor Joyce Purnick saw through him on a social level. According to the *Times*'s account, Purnick "recalled thinking that he was better at newsroom socializing than at reporting, and told him during a candid lunch that after graduation he should work for a smaller newspaper." A phrase that comes up in the accounts of the Blair scandal is "especially gifted at office politics." One *Times* writer told Cynthia Cotts of the *Village Voice* that Blair was not unrepresentative of his new-generation colleagues: "They're young, they're energetic, they say the right things, they kiss ass—but they don't have the skills to do the jobs they're handed." He was a master schmoozer and an ace brown-nose. In 2001, having just joined the paper, he nominated his boss Gerald Boyd for the National Association of Black Journalists' journalist of the year award. He smoked with Boyd on breaks. The New York tabloids have claimed Blair was in a relationship with the 23-year-old daughter of a friend of Raines's wife.

And he could lie skillfully. When his work began to deteriorate in the autumn and late winter of 2001, he told his bosses he was mourning a cousin who'd been killed in the attack on the Pentagon. The person he named turns out not to have been a relative. On April 6, "covering" an Iraq war funeral at a Cleveland church from his apartment in Brooklyn, he stood up his photographer by telling him he'd had to leave the funeral service early to get his cell phone fixed (which accounted for why the photographer's increasingly anxious calls went unanswered). Pretending to be interviewing Iraq war parents he would never meet, Blair e-mailed Roberts, "I am giving them a breather for about 30 minutes." (The parents wrote a letter to the *Times* to express how happy they were with Blair's story.)

Jack Shafer of *Slate* magazine asks us to remember that very few people are capable of seeing over the wall of skillful lies and flattery that gifted con artists can erect. Shafer may be right that "most liars make things up for the simple reason that they don't have the talent or the ability to get the story any other way." One sign of how deeply Raines was taken in is that he seems to believe to this day that the poor guy had *two* misfortunes in quick succession: first a problem of bad reporting, which he conquered; but then a problem of dishonesty, which sank him. Of course, those are two stages of the same problem—the second problem was the way Blair solved the first. "What we didn't know was that he was developing another problem we didn't know about, a problem of plagiarism and deception," said Raines.

Blair is reportedly in treatment for some kind of ongoing personal problem. It would be easier to feel a provisional pity had he not, on so many occasions, abused the

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social position he'd charmed his way into, and acted like a belligerent jerk. During the flush of renown that his fabricated sniper stories won, he bragged to the Washington *City Paper*, "The [Washington] *Post* got beat in their own backyard, and I can understand why they would have sore feelings." According to the *Times*, when he had a run-in with Patrick LaForge, a corrections tallier for the Metropolitan section, he threatened to take it up "with the people who hired me—and they all have executive or managing editor in their titles." In the days after the *Times* staff meeting, Howard Kurtz turned up Lisa Suhay, a freelance reporter for the *Times*, who covered a tire-recall story with Blair in New Jersey in August 2000. Blair took Suhay's reporting, altered her quotes, and invented "color"; when she brought up what he had done, he threatened her, Suhay says. "Jayson told me that if I was tired of working for the *Times*, he would make sure my name was taken off the assignment list. He made it clear that he was in the office every day while I was just a voice on the phone. Who would editorial listen to if he told them not to use me because I was difficult to work with? I backed off."

Why didn't Blair get caught? He kissed up to his superiors, threatened his subordinates, and lied when necessary. And he was lucky. As the *Post*'s Kurtz points out, he filed no expense reports for reporting trips to twenty cities in six states. Some of the expense reports he did file had receipts from chains in Brooklyn that he recorded as located in Washington. As to why his interview subjects didn't blow the whistle on him, we probably need to consider those national polls that show journalists ranked for reliability somewhere down near lawyers and car salesmen. His interview subjects didn't know the journalistic code of ethics a *Times* reporter is supposed to know like the back of his hand. They seem to have assumed that making up quotes and borrowing them from other papers is just what journalists *do*. And maybe they're right.

4. The Crisis-in-journalism Explanation

There is a hunky-dory version of what the Blair affair teaches us about American journalism. For Tim Rutten, it is "a lesson in how the speed and implacability of the Fourth Estate's self-correcting mechanisms are unmatched by any other institution in American life." It shows the "intolerance of falsehood" that is the mark of a great industry. Writing in the *Financial Times*, American correspondent Gerard Baker found almost touching this faith of American newspapermen that they can supply something like the "pure, unvarnished, truth."

That is very old-school. Journalism is changing demographically, and this love of facts for their own sake may be sociologically impossible to maintain. Back when "journalist" was an occupational class roughly equivalent to operating a boiler or running a sewing machine, it may have seemed a plum job to sit outside the school-board building (or in the bar across the street) awaiting accurate information on who the new principal would be. But today, most journalists are college graduates, decidedly white collar. To be at the beck and call of corporate flacks, as so many journalists are, or to simply sit and play stenographer to political blowhards, now appears *infra dig* to a liberal arts grad.

Germaine Greer was the first to note, thirty years ago, that "the take-over by computers of much vertical thinking has placed more and more emphasis on the creative propensities of thought." A kind of revolt against facts is taking place in society at large, and the news profession is caught up in it. Hence the spate of plagiarism scandals, from the *New Republic*'s Ruth Shalit to the *Boston Globe*'s Mike Barnicle; and fabrication scandals, from the *New Republic*'s Stephen Glass to the *L.A. Times* photographer who doctored his Iraq war shots. Jack Shafer notes of Glass that he "wasn't really much of a stylist": "Glass' stories read beautifully because [former *New Republic* editor] the late Michael Kelly poured his genius into them before publication." Similarly, the critic Judith Shulevitz wrote a fascinating short essay on the phony Holocaust memoir of Binjamin Wilkomirski, and how crummy it was as literature once one discovered it to be a fabrication. "I can't help wishing Wilkomirski had been more subtle in his efforts at deception and produced the magnificent fraud world literature deserves," she wrote. So it's not that these con artists are "creative writers." They're just looking for a bit of freedom to *be themselves*. To express an opinion, maybe.

The *New York Times* has been anything but immune to this "expressive" trend. It seems to have magazine envy. It respects facts, but finds them less interesting than the feelings and opinions they evoke. In its 7,200-word account of the Blair affair, one passage captured this preference: "For all the pain resonating through the *Times* newsroom, the hurt may be more acute in places like Bethesda, Md., where one of Mr. Blair's fabricated articles described American soldiers injured in combat." (By the way, what are "places like Bethesda, Md."?)

The *Times* has been drifting more and more towards front-page stories on trends and passions and tough-to-capture states of mind. This is what leads to all the talk about "resonating pain" and "acute hurt" and (as the *Times* puts it elsewhere in its Blair account) "emotionally charged moments." Some of these stories are backed up with polling numbers, some with a handful of sources speaking in the abstract. And many are excellent. But they do not stand and fall on facts and they are the farthest thing from all the news that's fit to print. They're the door through which Jayson Blair's devious idea of journalism entered the nation's greatest newspaper. ♦

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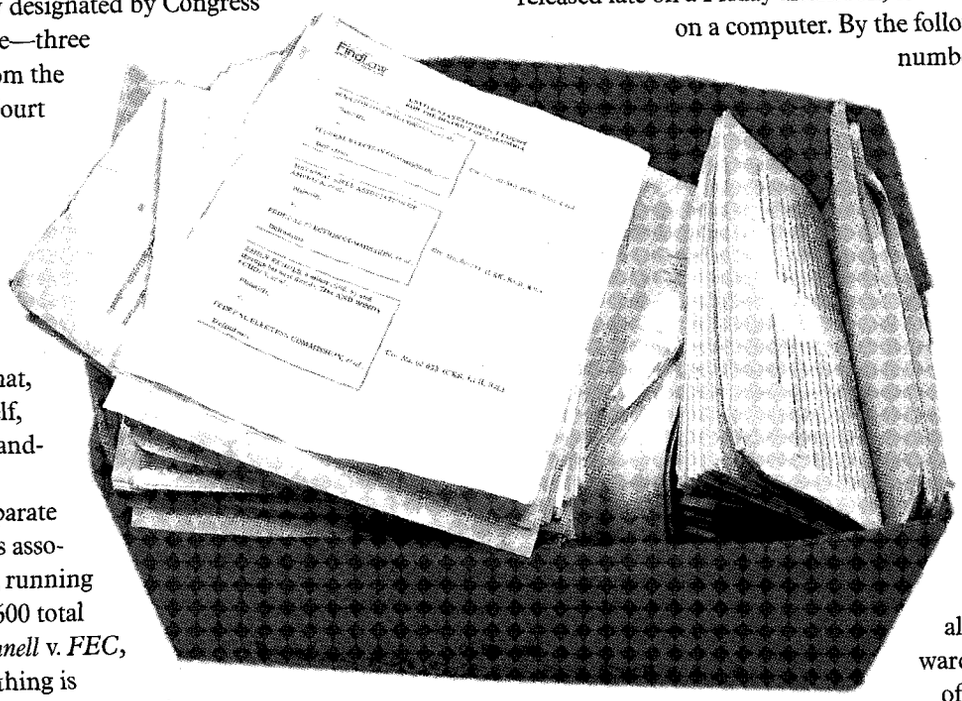
An Appearance of Corruption

The bogus research undergirding campaign finance reform

By David Tell

It's been an epic, *Bleak House*-worthy court case: 77 different plaintiffs suing 17 named defendants, thousands of pages of pleadings and motions and briefs, and more than 100,000 pages of additional expert-witness reports, deposition transcripts, and fact exhibits. On May 2, the hybrid judicial panel specially designated by Congress to hear the case—three judges, one from the D.C. Circuit Court and two from that circuit's district court—issued its much-delayed ruling. And that, too, all by itself, makes for a handsome library shelf: four separate opinions, plus associated orders, running to roughly 1,600 total pages. *McConnell* v. *FEC*, as the whole thing is known, is the omnibus constitutional challenge to the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA)—the McCain-Feingold bill that President Bush signed last March. The stakes are high and go to the heart of the First Amendment: What are you allowed to say about candidates for federal office, and how much money can you spend saying it? The resulting blizzard of paper is now headed for the Supreme Court, on an uncertain schedule and with uncertain consequences for the way we run our presidential and congressional elections.



Contributing to the uncertainty is the fact that very few people, save for a handful of lawyers involved in the case, have more than the dimmest notion what exactly all these documents *say*. Just the final, May 2 batch of them, released late on a Friday afternoon, took hours to print out on a computer. By the following morning, a number of newspapers had performed heroic feats in order to give their readers reasonably coherent accounts of the *McConnell* court's decision. But even the best of those reports was necessarily sketchy, and follow-up analysis has been almost entirely forward-looking: Which of the parties might seek a stay of the ruling? Which of them is best positioned to pursue an appeal? In all this talk about strategy, what's *already* happened, and why, has been set aside. Nobody on a deadline can read 100,000-plus pages of primary-source material on the intricacies of federal election law, after all. No sane person reads such stuff at all.

And a damn lucky thing that is, too, if you're anybody

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associated with New York University Law School's Brennan Center for Justice. For buried inside the stacks of deposition testimony and subpoenaed correspondence are some impressively ugly revelations about that activist outfit's involvement in the design, passage, and legal defense of our new campaign rules. In sum: The empirical evidence McCain-Feingold proponents have offered as the constitutional justification for a key provision of the bill, empirical evidence for which Brennan Center "research" is the source, appears to be fraudulent—deliberately faked.

Conventional wisdom now has it that the Supreme Court, when it does eventually hear *McConnell*, will be forced to review all of BCRA from scratch. The trial panel, as its May 2 opinions make plain, was riven by unusually bitter disagreements. Circuit Judge Karen LeCraft Henderson, a Bush-*père* appointee, decided that the new law is "unconstitutional in virtually all of its particulars." She was openly contemptuous of her colleagues—both for their failure to concur in that judgment and for the dithering pace of their deliberations. The main target of these complaints, District Judge Colleen Kollar-Kotelly, a Clinton appointee who voted to uphold most of BCRA, was openly contemptuous right back at Henderson, in a series of snarling footnotes.

None of the McConnell judges was prepared to trust statistical evidence from the Brennan Center.

The panel's third member, Bush-*fils* district court appointee Richard J. Leon, searching for safe passage through these fires, split his votes back and forth between the Henderson and Kollar-Kotelly positions. The practical effect of Leon's elaborate compromising was a peculiar, patchwork ruling that satisfied no one—striking down some sections of McCain-Feingold, upholding others, and guaranteeing multiple and conflicting appeals. (The parties to the suit include almost every high-profile player in American politics: the ACLU, the National Rifle Association, the Chamber of Commerce, and the AFL-CIO, among others.) Wielding extremely ambiguous Supreme Court precedents against those elements of the McCain-Feingold plan that most observers had figured would fare *best* under judicial review, Judge Leon and company wound up invalidating much of the law's ban on "soft money" fundraising and expenditures. At the same time, apparently unconcerned about a much clearer line of precedent generally hostile to government regulation of political speech, the court approved sweeping restrictions on interest-group "issue advocacy" ads—the part of the law widely thought vulnerable to First Amendment challenge.

Neither of these decisions was unanimous. Indeed, so fragile was the court's shifting series of 2-1 majorities that the judges were unable to reach consensus even about the facts on which those votes were based. Each member of the *McConnell* panel wrote his own, separate "findings of fact," and rarely did those findings overlap. But there was one place where they did overlap, one point of agreement amidst the general confusion. And it's something that the Supreme Court, otherwise provided so little consistent guidance by the May 2 ruling, is sure to notice: None of the *McConnell* judges was prepared to trust statistical evidence from the Brennan Center.

Which is potentially a very big deal.

Far and away the most controversial element of the McCain-Feingold scheme is the so-called Snowe-Jeffords Amendment. It prohibits labor unions, businesses, and most nonprofits from making direct, unregulated expenditures on "electioneering communications," defined as broadcast messages that refer to a federal candidate by name and appear in that candidate's home-district media market within 30 days of a primary election or 60 days of a general election. This rule, which by its own account the Brennan Center "played a role in crafting," is designed to repair what campaign-finance reformers consider the terrible damage wrought by a single footnote in the Supreme Court's 1976 *Buckley* v. *Valeo* decision—still the constitutional rosetta stone for federal election law. *Buckley*'s footnote 52, addressing a similar rule enacted by an earlier Congress, forbade restrictions on political broadcasts unless they contained "express words of advocacy of election or defeat," like *Vote for Smith* or *Let's Defeat Jones*.

There's a hot dispute about whether this footnote applied only in the 1976 case or instead enunciated a general First Amendment principle. Taking the former view, McCain-Feingold proponents call footnote 52 a "loophole" that has been exploited for a quarter century by interest groups that run high-dollar election-season advertising campaigns—featuring "sham issue ads" that would be illegal but for the fact that footnote 52's magic words (*vote for*; *vote against*) appear nowhere in their scripts. For instance: "Congressman Nelson favors a Social Security plan that would throw your grandma into the snow. Call Congressman Nelson on or around the first Tuesday in November, when he's sure to be listening. Tell him to leave your grandma alone. Paid for by Citizens Who

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Think Congressman Nelson is a Bum." Snowe-Jeffords would squelch such ads.

Of course, if the *Buckley* magic-words test *is* a uniformly applicable First Amendment principle—it will be up to the Supreme Court to clarify the matter once and for all—then the Snowe-Jeffords ban is unconstitutional. But assuming it gets past this hurdle, the sham-issue-ad provision will still have to survive the judicial "strict scrutiny" accorded all such governmentally imposed burdens on political speech. One component of First Amendment strict scrutiny particularly relevant in this case is called "overbreadth analysis." As campaign reformers have always understood, they will ultimately need to offer the Supreme Court persuasive evidence that the Snowe-Jeffords Amendment's definition of "electioneering communications" isn't "overbroad"—that it has been crafted with sufficient precision so that it can curb "phony" issue ads without simultaneously criminalizing a substantial number of *genuine*, constitutionally protected issue ads as well.

This is where the Brennan Center's role in the matter becomes critical. It was Brennan's job, the details of which emerge from deep within the *McConnell* case files, to come up with the evidence necessary to defend Snowe-Jeffords against an "overbreadth" attack.

Brennan promised to suspend its work midstream, pre-publication, if the numbers turned out wrong.

In early 1999, Brennan Center staffers finalized plans for a research project led by an Arizona State University political scientist named Kenneth Goldstein. With funds to be provided by the Pew Charitable Trusts, Brennan would purchase an archive of "storyboards"—full scripts and selected still-frame images—from thousands of political ads broadcast during calendar year 1998. Goldstein would then assign a team of student volunteers to review those storyboards and classify each ad as either an honest-to-goodness public policy pronouncement or an electioneering message in disguise. Once this "coding" task was finished, Goldstein would assemble a computer database recording his students' subjective judgments about the ads along with documentary information about when and where the ads had aired and whether they'd mentioned a candidate for federal office. Whereupon Brennan Center political scientist Jonathan Krasno would analyze the contents of Goldstein's database against the broadcasting prohibitions contemplated by the Snowe-Jeffords Amendment. Among interest-group-sponsored political ads that targeted a specific federal candidate's voters during the final 60 days of the 1998 general election, how many were "genuine," and how many were not? The smaller the number of "genuine" ads regulated by Snowe-Jeffords, the better would be the law's chances of surviving judicial review.

The successful grant proposal that Krasno wrote for Pew—on instructions from Brennan's president, Joshua Rosenkranz, to emphasize "the pop and sizzle stuff, not the research"—made explicit that the project was principally a hunt for political ammunition. "Issue Advocacy: Amassing the Case for Reform," dated February 19, 1999, explained that "[t]he purpose of our acquiring the data set is not simply to advance knowledge for its own sake, but to fuel a continuous multi-faceted campaign to propel campaign reform forward." Dispassionate academic inquiry was so alien to the spirit of the thing that Brennan promised to suspend its work midstream, pre-publication, if the numbers turned out wrong. "Whether we proceed to phase two will depend on the judgment of whether the data provide a sufficiently powerful boost to the reform movement."

Before that year was out, Goldstein and his students had completed the storyboard-coding effort, and Krasno was busy convincing himself that the "sufficiently powerful boost" Brennan had hoped for was present in the results. Krasno's report to that effect, *Buying Time 1998*, was still at the printer when, on April 26, 2000, Rosenkranz testified about its findings at a Senate Rules Committee hearing on the Snowe-Jeffords Amendment. Given "solid empirical data" recently obtained by the Brennan Center, Rosenkranz advised, Congress can be "confident that the major campaign finance proposals currently before it do not inhibit true issue advocacy." Only "7 percent of ads categorized as genuine issue advocacy would have been affected" had Snowe-Jeffords-style restrictions been in place for the last 60 days of the 1998 campaign.

E-mail and suchlike records produced under subpoena during the *McConnell* trial, however, indicate that Rosenkranz himself must no longer have been "confident" in Jonathan Krasno's "solid empirical data," even as he was describing it that way to the senators. The very next day, Rosenkranz wrote a forceful memo to his donors at Pew, apparently reiterating an earlier SOS about the *Buying Time* report: "I continue to believe that we cannot be put in a position where we Brennan Center staff are expected to rely upon or collaborate with Jon" for further advertising research. "It's a recipe for disaster," Rosenkranz went on, announcing that the Brennan Cen-

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ter would refuse involvement with any such study "in which Jon's role (even if artificially downplayed and insulated) is significant." That would be "an untenable situation." Krasno was then abruptly fired. It was a "personality conflict," he has since insisted.

But it seems to have been more than that, too. It seems that other Brennan Center staffers were having considerable difficulty verifying Krasno's projection that genuine issue ads would make up just "7 percent" of the political broadcasts prohibited by Snowe-Jeffords. A research assistant named Luke McLoughlin ran appropriate calculations through the Goldstein database and repeatedly produced a much higher and thus politically inconvenient figure: 38.5 percent. A professor independently commissioned by Brennan to work with the database arrived at an eerily similar conclusion: 40 percent. As late as January 2001, eight months after *Buying Time 1998* was published and widely circulated, no one in the Brennan Center's ambit had yet found a way to budge this number.

Krasno's successor at Brennan, Craig Holman, sent Rosenkranz a series of downbeat e-mails about the rather "awkward" situation they confronted. "Luke and I have run over it many, many times," Holman confirmed. The "7 percent" business "can be a little misleading," as he delicately put it. "[I]n reality, according to the 1998 database, about 40 percent of genuine issue ads would be deemed electioneering within a 60 day regulatory period." Rosenkranz wasn't happy. "Here's the problem," he wrote back to Holman. "Our findings are not just misleading; as I read them, they are flat-out false." Luke McLoughlin subsequently managed to "cut some new numbers" and jigger the 40 percent statistic back down into the teens. But Rosenkranz's overbreadth-analysis "comfort" zone was never recovered.

Neither, on the other hand, did the Brennan Center ever publicly express so much as a hint of doubt about the validity or significance of Krasno's original 7 percent analysis. Quite the contrary: In mid-March 2001, barely two months after Rosenkranz had privately dismissed that analysis as "flat-out false"—and, not incidentally, immediately in advance of a crucial Senate debate on the Snowe-Jeffords Amendment—Brennan issued a splashy open letter citing *Buying Time 1998*, and nothing else, as proof that the measure was constitutional. "This empirical evidence demonstrates that the Snowe-Jeffords criteria are not 'substantially overbroad,'" the letter proclaimed—on the authority of 88 signatory "constitutional scholars" led by luminaries like Ronald Dworkin and Norman Ornstein.

Two days later, the Senate debate still underway, Rosenkranz and his colleagues pulled off a second successive publicity coup: a press release touting preliminary results from what would eventually become an updated volume of Brennan quasi-scholarship, *Buying Time 2000*. Kenneth Goldstein had relocated to the University of Wisconsin. His students there had completed a fresh round of storyboard-coding work. And that work, Brennan's press release suggested, "directly rebuts the dire 'sky is falling' predictions" about Snowe-Jeffords that nonprofit groups and labor unions were then beseeching their senators to heed. Specifically: If Snowe-Jeffords had been in force during the waning weeks of the 2000 election campaign, "only three genuine issue ads," representing "fewer than one percent" of total interest-group ad buys, would have been "improperly" suppressed.

These "facts," too, as the Brennan Center knew quite well, were dubious. But they helped do the trick and, just as with *Buying Time 1998*, Brennan has never stopped publicly boasting about them. The Center's "real contribution to the debate came with our unprecedented empirical work," Rosenkranz wrote in spring 2002, memorializing McCain-Feingold's enactment into law. "The *Congressional Record* was rife with references to our data and our analyses at every step of the way. So was the popular press. From the *New York Times* to the *Los Angeles Times*, journalists and editorial boards consistently turned to us both for legal comment and empirical support."

That much, at least, was true.

Among the first things the *McConnell* plaintiffs' attorneys did to prepare their trial case against McCain-Feingold was to recruit James Gibson, a well-known government professor at Washington University in St. Louis, to critique the Brennan *Buying Time* studies as an expert witness. Gibson was perplexed by the computer disks and documents obtained through discovery for his review, especially those related to Jonathan Krasno's work. Brennan's 1998 advertising database, according to the report Gibson prepared for the court, was "riddled with internal inconsistencies and errors." Though multiple iterations of that database were preserved on the disks he'd been given, Gibson was able to replicate "virtually none" of the results *Buying Time 1998* had claimed to derive from it. Gibson did manage to trace the origin of one such result, however—the 7 percent figure that had so irked and mystified Krasno's officemates. The numerator was the expected one: genuine issue-ad broadcasts that the Snowe-Jeffords 60-day blackout would have unfairly swallowed up. But the denominator was an apples-and-oranges anomaly: all issue-ad broadcasts *for the entire calendar year*.

Krasno's argument for the mildness of Snowe-Jeffords's mischief, in effect, was like a playground bully insisting that the lunch money he'd stolen in May repre-

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sented only a very small fraction of the lunch money his classmates had collectively carried since September. Retabulated in the proper fashion, so far as Gibson could determine, *Buying Time 1998*'s results actually meant that a shockingly large number of the issue ads silenced by Snowe-Jeffords—44.4 percent of them—wouldn't be "shams" at all.

And there was worse. Gibson was delivered a small sample set of the primary-source material used by Kenneth Goldstein's Arizona State University students: 25 of the 1998 storyboards, matched up with the "coding sheets" on which those students had registered opinions about the presence or absence of an "electioneering" purpose in the broadcasts. Chancing to check the coding sheets against related entries in different versions of the 1998 database, Gibson established, to his amazement, that eight of the original student scorings, almost a third, had been altered after the fact. At some point during the preparation of *Buying Time 1998*, probably in late January 2000, someone had accessed the Goldstein/Brennan computer files and switched at least eight ads, representing a significant chunk of the study's ostensible broadcast-airtime baseline, out of the "genuine" category and into the "sham." The "sufficiently powerful boost to the reform movement" referred to in Krasno's Pew grant proposal, and provided by means of his creative 7 percent construction, had itself been boosted rather powerfully—and was phonier, therefore, than even Joshua Rosenkranz had feared.

Even the McConnell defendants' independent expert proved unwilling to stake his reputation on the integrity of "Buying Time."

Correcting for Krasno's numerator/denominator subterfuge *and* for the demonstrable manipulation of Brennan's underlying data, *Buying Time 1998* should more honestly have reported, Gibson advised the *McConnell* judges, that the vast majority of political advertisements likely to be kept off the air by the Snowe-Jeffords Amendment, 64 percent of them at minimum, would be perfectly unobjectionable, altogether genuine issue broadcasts. Snowe-Jeffords, it appeared, was unconstitutionally "overbroad," just as those "sky is falling" critics had alleged—to an almost unimaginable, spectacular extent.

By the sound of the transcripts, last fall's *McConnell* deposition sessions must have been a sweaty-palms affair for the current and former Brennan Center staffers called to testify. Each proved loyal to the cause, however, and suffered personal embarrassment rather than help corroborate the now obvious-beyond-question First Amendment infirmities of McCain-Feingold's issue-ad provisions. Each, for example, eagerly repudiated his own well-documented misgivings over the accuracy of Jonathan Krasno's 7 percent figure. In retrospect, Craig Holman said, that number was "not untrue." The accounting procedures embodied in Krasno's whole-year denominator were not necessarily unjustified. And, no, the legal and political inferences Congress had drawn from *Buying Time 1998* were not the wrong ones: It "depends on how you measured" things. Asked when it was that he'd revised his thinking on the matter—deciding that Krasno had been right all along—Holman paused a moment and said: "within the last couple of weeks." Asked the same question, Luke McLoughlin, who'd offered much the same sort of self-abasing testimony, replied: "yesterday."

No one representing the Brennan Center acknowledged responsibility for the *ex post facto* score-switchings Professor Gibson had uncovered in the 1998 advertising database—or claimed to know who'd done the deed. But Gibson had also identified six instances of equivalent corruption in the *Buying Time 2000* computer disks. And Kenneth Goldstein, many reluctant hours into a day-long deposition last October 24, finally fessed up to those. Three of the changes were made in mid-March 2001—while Goldstein was on vacation, standing in a Florida airport. His cell phone rang. The "Brennan Center called me up" and "asked me to give another assessment of three ads," he recounted. "And I gave them that assessment," overruling the judgments of student researchers who had examined the storyboards. Why the urgency, an attorney for the *McConnell* plaintiffs wondered? "I believe that was the time McCain-Feingold was being debated in the Senate," Goldstein remembered. "Brennan wanted to be able to write a report or have a press release . . . and talk about the 2000 data." As we have seen, Brennan did issue such a press release—claiming that "fewer than one percent" of the issue ads affected by Snowe-Jeffords would be "genuine." Had six ads in the 2000 database not been altered from "genuine" to "sham," Goldstein conceded, that figure would have ballooned to 17 percent, a constitutionally unsustainable level.

Ultimately, even the *McConnell* defendants' own independent expert proved unwilling to stake his reputation on the integrity of Brennan's *Buying Time* exercises. Arthur Lupia, a comically self-important University of Michigan political scientist—one of the "2000 Outstanding Scientists of the 20th Century," his *curriculum vitae*

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points out—buckled under questioning from legendary First Amendment lawyer Floyd Abrams. Are the academic standards on display in Brennan's grant-proposal research prospectus "appropriate," Abrams wanted to know?

LUPIA: In what sense do you mean "appropriate"?
ABRAMS: You don't understand the word?
LUPIA: Well, I do, sir, but there are several senses in which one could ask me the question.
ABRAMS: Do you think it is consistent with scholarly behavior of honor and seriousness as a member of a learned profession?
LUPIA: No, that I do not.

But partisan motivations alone, though generally frowned upon in the learned professions, do not by themselves impeach the *results* of a scholarly project, Lupia protested. People don't think cancer research is useless simply because the physician conducting that research hopes to eradicate the disease.

ABRAMS: Are there any pro-cancer doctors that you know of?
LUPIA: No, sir.

Karen LeCraft Henderson, roundabout page 90 of the 345-page *McConnell* v. *FEC* opinion she signed May 2, offered a thumbnail sketch of the *Buying Time* evidence on which Congress had relied when voting to incorporate the Snowe-Jeffords Amendment into the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002. The judge said very little in her own voice about the Brennan Center research. Even a rigorously deadpan description of that research, Henderson understood, would more than adequately explain why she felt the federal courts could not afford to rely on *Buying Time* at all. Columnist George Will noticed Henderson's reference to Brennan's role in the litigation—a subtext of the McCain-Feingold legal battle that has otherwise eluded media attention—and wrote a piece making passing mention of the *Buying Time* project's intellectual "debasement." To which characterization Frederick A.O. Schwarz Jr., the Brennan Center's interim president, vehemently objected. Notwithstanding Will's "resuscitation" of "discredited" attacks against his institution, Schwarz rejoined, the McConnell court—"two of three judges on the panel," at least—had "found the research in the Center's *Buying Time* reports to be credible and useful," and had "followed Congress in embracing [their] central findings."

Mr. Schwarz is misinformed.

Judge Henderson, of course, rejected both *Buying Time* studies, outright, as "flawed" beyond repair. Judge Leon, for his part, rejected *Buying Time 1998*'s Snowe-Jeffords data, as published, because it measured ads "that never would have been regulated by BCRA." Judge Leon did accept *Buying Time 1998*'s Snowe-Jeffords data—as recalculated the way he thought it ought to have been. But he only did so, ironically, because the recalculated data confirmed his suspicion that the measure's 60-day electioneering definition suffered "real and substantial" overbreadth, and was consequently unconstitutional. Judge Leon accepted *Buying Time 2000*'s Snowe-Jeffords data on the same, subversive terms: Properly interpreted, he wrote, the numbers signify a "realistic danger that the statute will significantly compromise recognized First Amendment protections." Even Judge Kollar-Kotelly, who voted to uphold the 60-day test, on the basis of "empirical" evidence in "the record" that she did not name or describe, felt obliged to refuse the *specific* empirical evidence she'd been offered by the *McConnell* defendants. She was "troubled" that student coding decisions had been altered in both the *Buying Time* studies. And, she added, "I do not accept" the first study's central conclusion about 1998. And "I cannot accept" the second study's central conclusion about 2000.

The Snowe-Jeffords section of the campaign reform act contains a "backup" electioneering rule that Congress intended would take effect if and when the "primary" broadcast-restriction criteria were invalidated by the courts, which is what's just happened. As edited and endorsed by Judges Leon and Kollar-Kotelly, the backup provision would prohibit unions and corporations from making direct, unregulated expenditures on any broadcast communication that "promotes or supports," or "attacks or opposes," any "candidate for federal office"—anywhere, for any reason, in any month of any year. Judges Leon and Kollar-Kotelly have neglected to cite constitutional precedent for this novel piece of censorship. And there isn't a knowledgeable lawyer in the country who thinks the Supreme Court will stand for it, even in its slightly less draconian, pre-*McConnell* form. Proponents of the McCain-Feingold "sham ad ban" must hope, instead, that the Supreme Court will look afresh at the trial-record facts, perform a brand-new overbreadth analysis on the original Snowe-Jeffords electioneering definition, persuade itself that the provision is constitutional, and reverse the trial judges' contrary ruling.

Trouble is, the Supreme Court may look afresh at the trial-record facts all it likes; those facts won't change. The credibility of *Buying Time*, what the Bush administration's most recent *McConnell* defense brief called "the only empirical evidence . . . provided to the court" for the Snowe-Jeffords Amendment's constitutionality, is in ruins.

The credibility of New York University's Brennan Center for Justice isn't in such great shape, either. ♦

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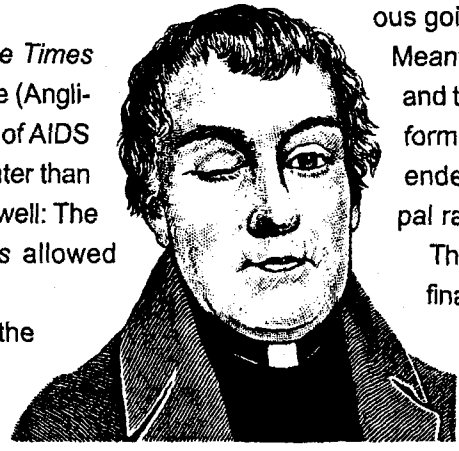
The Priestly Sex Scandals Will NOT Soon Go Away

Priestly sex scandals in the U.S. Catholic Church were few and far between before seminaries began accepting homosexuals in the 1960s. The homosexual population of the U.S. is estimated at between 2 and 10%. Homosexuals in the priesthood are now estimated to be between 30 and 60%. A major study conducted by *The Kansas City Star* found that "priests are dying of AIDS at a rate at least four times that of the general U.S. population...."

Is celibacy the culprit? No. *The Times of London* found that priests in the (Anglican) Church of England are dying of AIDS at a rate roughly 2 to 3 times greater than Catholic priests in the U.S.! Note well: The Church of England has *always* allowed priests to marry.



Not surprisingly, 90 to 98% of the publicized cases of priestly pedophilia committed by U.S. Catholic priests involve *boys* (whether prepubescent or postpubescent). Not all "gays" are pedophiles, but pedophilia — called "intergenerational love" by homosexuals — is part and parcel of the homosexual subculture, which places great emphasis on youthful physique and is notoriously promiscuous, and whose publications commonly carry themes of adult-child sex.

How did a number of seminaries get flooded with homosexuals? Not only because many bishops and religious orders have allowed seminaries to admit homosexuals — in direct violation of Vatican policy — but because certain vocations directors and seminaries reject a candidate, not because he's homosexual but because he's "homophobic" — they also reject candidates deemed "rigid" (a code word for orthodox).

In certain seminaries, professors openly dissent from Catholic teaching on homosexuality, and homosexual behavior is protected. And those orthodox, morally straight seminarians who managed to get in under the radar and who object to the scandalous goings-on are persecuted or forced out. Meanwhile, sodomites are ordained priests, and they protect and promote one another, forming what is widely known as "the Lavender Mafia," extending even into episcopal ranks.

Thanks to the media, the U.S. bishops have finally had to take a strong stand against "sexual abuse of minors." But the get-tough policy affects only some violations of celibacy. It doesn't affect sex with men and other priests. As long as sodomite priests are often winked at, and certain seminaries continue to be hothouses for flamers and promote the dissent that justifies immorality, sexual license in the priesthood will continue. But it *must and will be stopped*, if not by the bishops then by us the laity.

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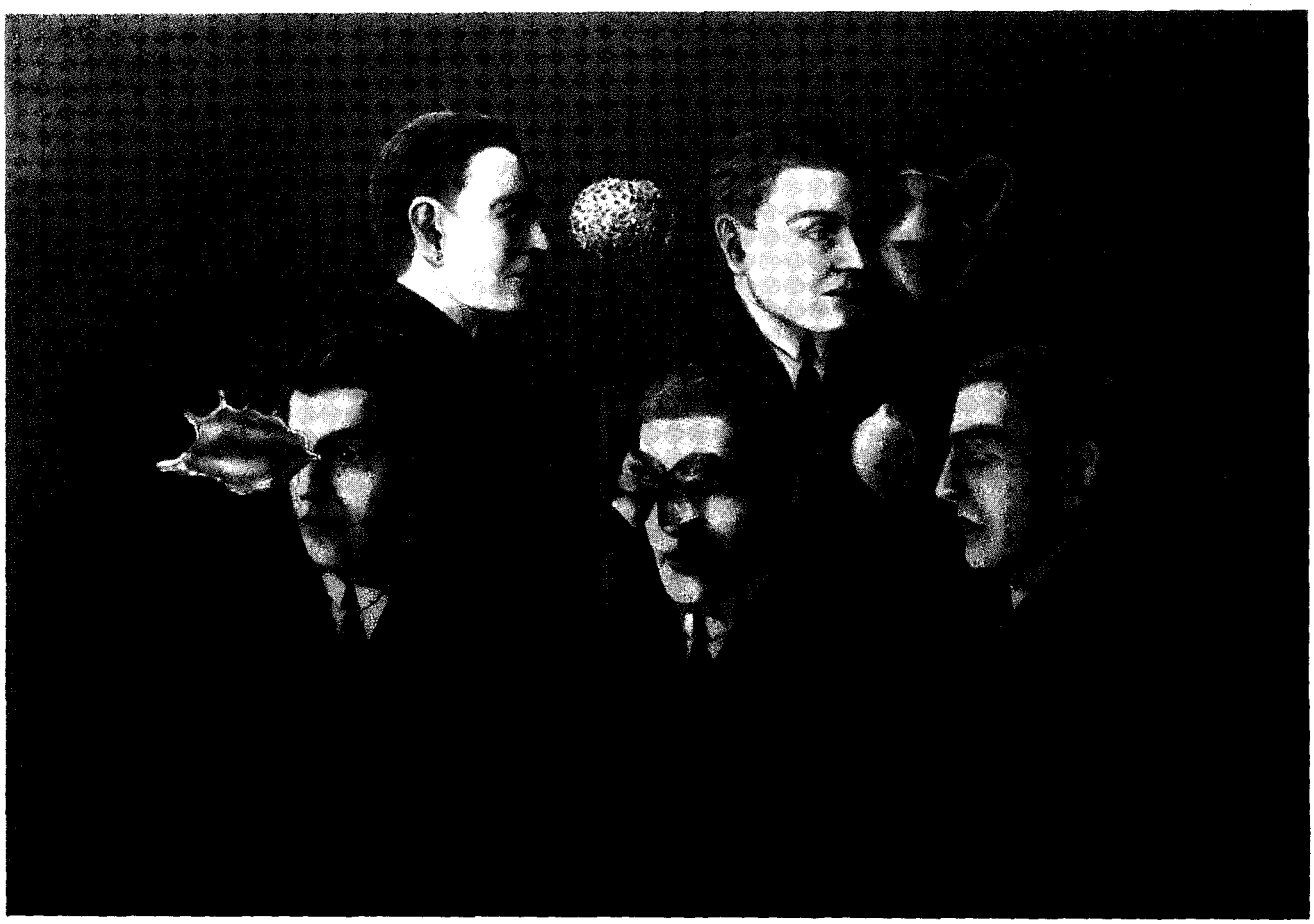

René Magritte, *Les Objets Familiers* (1928). C. Herscovici, Brussels / Artists Rights Society, New York.

The End of a Delusion

The psychiatric memory wars are over.

By Paul R. McHugh

At the end of the nineteenth century, Sigmund Freud—ever anxious to present an overarching, universal explanation for mental unrest—suggested that "repressed memories" of childhood sexual abuse are a common cause of adult mental disorders.

He quickly abandoned the idea (replacing it with the concept of infantile sexuality) when he saw that it harmed rather than helped his patients.

Paul R. McHugh, a board member of the False Memory Syndrome Foundation, is University Distinguished Service Professor of Psychiatry and Behavioral Science at the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine and former psychiatrist in chief of the Johns Hopkins Hospital.

But such ideas seem to have lives of their own, and a hundred years after Freud first proposed it, the idea of repressed memories rose again in new and even gaudier clothing. Grown beyond Freud's unadorned view of domestic misconduct, it came to include beliefs that many of these sexual traumas—which the troubled patients' shocked minds had repressed—took place during Satanic rituals and experiments aboard alien spacecraft.

Remembering Trauma
by Richard J. McNally
Belknap, 420 pp., $35

It is today almost impossible to understand how anyone ever believed this absurd and ridiculous notion, but it was less than a decade ago that the idea was flourishing in America. The American psychiatric and psychological establishment bears a shame that will be hard ever to wash away. Thousands of patients—thousands of sick, damaged people who had come to medical professionals for help—were destructively misdirected into trolling through their pasts in search of hidden sexual trauma. By the late 1980s, wards and clinics in university psychiatric departments, eminent hospitals, and even the National Institute of Mental Health were devoted to uncovering these repressed memories.

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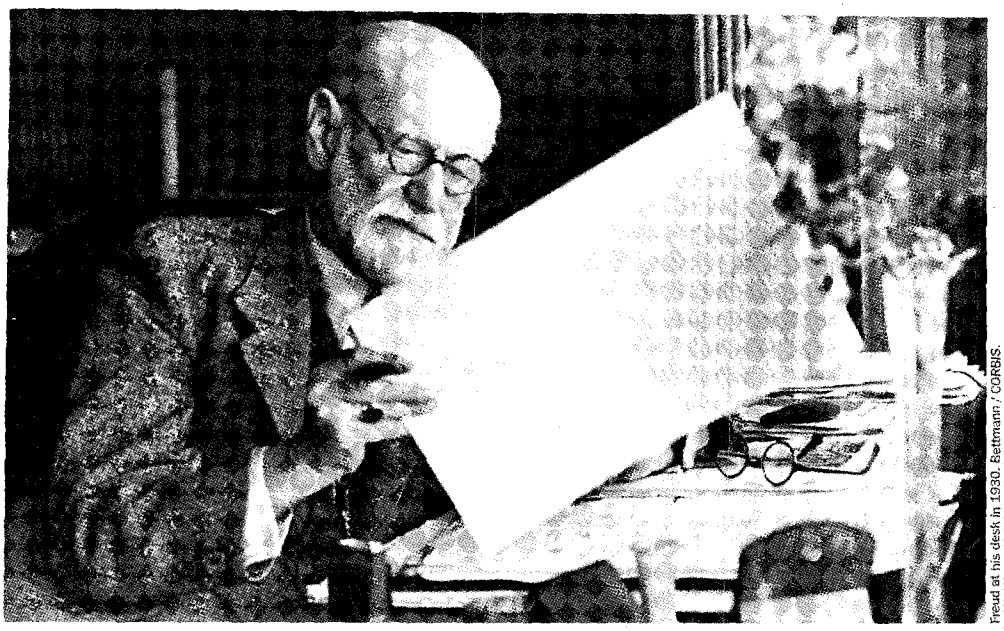

Freud at his desk in 1930. Bettmann / CORBIS.

The craze for this psychiatric madness was never universal, and, to their credit, some theorists and practicing psychiatrists resisted the practices and ideas in what Frederick Crews aptly dubbed the "memory wars." The importance of Richard J. McNally's new book *Remembering Trauma* lies not just in the superb and definitive survey McNally makes of the history of repressed memories, but also in what the book stands for: *Remembering Trauma* is the monument built to mark the end of the memory wars. The repressed-memory diagnosis has finally been repressed.

When these wars started, orthodox Freudianism—the concepts of psychoanalysis based on infantile sexuality and the dynamic unconscious that Freud developed on abandoning his child abuse idea—was losing influence after dominating psychiatric thought for over two generations in America. The Freudian explanation and treatment were weak in practice, whatever their intrinsic intellectual interest. New and simpler treatments of psychiatric patients, as with medication and cognitive counseling, were emerging to replace it.

The idea of repressed memories was in many ways *anti*-Freudian, anathema to the orthodox Freudian view. But the explosion of interest in repressed memories was nonetheless a result of Freudianism—a notion born from the Freudian movement's death throes, something we might have anticipated had we reflected on the situation faced by therapists accustomed for so long to remarkable social and professional standing in America as keepers of the deep secrets of our minds.

More clamor about the Oedipus complex, castration anxiety, penis envy, and all the rest of the classic Freudian elements was not going to revive attention and energy for the sect. New kinds of secrets about human mental life and its disorders were needed. And what better than the idea that our parents—particularly our fathers—betrayed us as children and used us as sexual objects? Our failure to remember such abuse presented no problem. Surely the abuse was so shocking, so villainous, we could not believe it was happening. Hence, the theory held, we repressed all memory of the experience into the unconscious where it would work its mischief over time, all unknown and even unsuspected.

If this wasn't Freudian in content, it was nonetheless Freudian in shape—not orthodox Freudianism, but what we might call "manneristic Freudianism." The mannerists lacked Freud's originality and literary gifts, of course, but they tried to follow him as best they could.

So, for instance, both the orthodox and the mannerists believed that Western society is the primary source of mental distress: Freud taught that society restricted the expression of our drives, producing conflicts and neurosis; the mannerists claimed that society protected the sexual predators by its paternalistic structure. Meanwhile, both believed in a dynamic unconscious roiling with suppressed secrets: Freud supposed that the unconscious hid our selfish impulses and hungers from consciousness and thus from censure by a repressive culture; the mannerists held that the unconscious hid the shocking memories from consciousness so that family life could go on. Finally, both believed that therapy should bring the unconscious issues to light: Freud said this would spare the subject from wasting psychic energy repressing his drives and so allow him to flourish in "love and work"; the mannerists believed that acknowledging the "repressed" abuse would lead to a life free of the nightmares, failures in personal relationships, and self-destructive behaviors generated by the unconscious memories.

The manneristic Freudians made intellectual moves defined by orthodox Freudianism, even while they rejected such politically incorrect Freudian ideas as penis envy. And so the memory wars were launched by the aggressive proposals of the manneristic Freudians. The signal event in this offensive against reason and plausibility was the publication in 1984 of Jeffrey Masson's book, *The Assault on Truth: Freud's Suppression of the Seduction Theory*. As the archivist of the Freud papers (many of which are still secret), Masson was an insider amongst the orthodox Freudians, but he turned on his master's memory to resurrect Freud's original claim of childhood sexual abuse as the cause of neurosis. Indeed, Masson claimed that Freud *knew* it to be true but lacked the courage to press on with it. With the publication of this book—and the consequent dismissal of Masson as Freud's archivist—manneristic Freudianism and the concept of repressed memory moved to the front of psychiatry.

This first phase of the memory wars demonstrated how quickly an idea about mental life can grow and spread in the public, particularly if it offers an opportunity to identify new victims and new villains. The manneristic Freudians encountered few obstructions as their ideas gained support through the 1980s and early 1990s from

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psychiatrists and psychologists working in psychotherapy.

Many books were written to encourage the practice of recovering lost memories, the most successful of which—indeed a continuing best-seller—was *The Courage to Heal: A Guide for Women Survivors of Child Sexual Abuse* published in 1988 by two radical feminists with no qualifications in psychology and psychiatry. By 1991 some manneristic Freudians were claiming that up to half of the patients in psychiatric care were suffering from the effects of repressed or dissociated memories of sexual abuse.

It was in the late 1980s and early 1990s as well that many psychiatrists in teaching positions began to receive calls from families reporting how their adult offspring—mostly daughters—were accusing them of the most ferocious forms of sexual abuse when they were children. Casualties began to mount rapidly: mostly family breakup and estrangement, but also growing mental derangement in the accusers. They were under pressure first to "remember" the details of the purported abuse they had "repressed" and then to "relive" these experiences in their psychotherapy sessions for cathartic relief. Why was it a surprise when patients treated in this fashion got worse, not better? More symptoms of depression colored with anger, resentment, and fear emerged, and suicide attempts began to occur. Long hospitalizations were often required. All these unfortunate outcomes replicated Freud's original experience with recovered-memory treatment a hundred years before.

The second phase of the memory wars was the organization of opposition to these ideas and practices. In 1992 a group of accused parents and concerned psychologists and psychiatrists founded the "False Memory Syndrome Foundation" (of which I am a board member) to "provide support and advice to accused family members and to disseminate scientific information about trauma and memory to the public at large." The argument of the foundation was that therapeutic techniques attempting to recover repressed memories actually led to the creation of psychologically compelling but false memories of childhood sex abuse, with all the destructive effects such false beliefs bring to the patient and the family.

The hope in this phase of the memory wars was that common sense would soon prevail and this misdirection of psychiatry from standard practices of evaluation and therapy would promptly stop. But the opposition to the idea of repressed memory received little or no support from official psychiatry or from the editorial policies of such professional journals as the *American Journal of Psychiatry*. Still, among the most useful efforts in the second phase of the memory wars was the publication of books about the misdirections of thought and misconstrual of evidence represented in the repressed memory claims. An outstanding contribution was Frederick Crews's series of articles in the *New York Review of Books*, ultimately brought together in 1995 as a book entitled *The Memory Wars: Freud's Legacy in Dispute*.

Also in this second phase, many patients treated for repressed memories came to realize that they had been misled by their therapists and retracted their claims against their fathers and mothers. Some of the most egregious examples garnered public attention, and their stories about how they came to have false memories under psychotherapeutic suggestions got attention in periodicals as diverse as *Esquire* and the *American Scholar*. Cumulatively, these attacks on repressed-memory syndrome began to take effect, and as the existence of false memories became obvious, the courts began to protect accused parents from prosecution by offspring. Later, many former patients launched civil lawsuits for malpractice against their hospitals and therapists, and juries gave them huge financial settlements.

Perhaps the greatest scandal of the memory wars lies in this: The official avenues of clinical and scientific debate failed to play a role in ending these practices, while public rebuke and punishment did. Enormous damage is done to a medical discipline when it is

A psychiatric patient on the couch. Jose Luis Pelaez, Inc. / CORBIS.

forced to advance and retreat under the gun of the malpractice courts—but when the psychiatric establishment was at best absent, and at worst complicit, in the widespread practice of a psychiatric abuse, what alternative was there?

The result was at least partially effective. No one these days is bragging about how skilled they are at bringing forth forgotten memories, and some of the more crazy ideas, such as "Multiple Personality Disorder" and "Satanic Ritual Abuse" do not get much exposure anymore. But many practitioners still believe in the concept of repression (often translating it into another term, "dissociation") and claim that all the obvious troubles that came to light and led to court action were due not to erroneous ideas but to incompetent practitioners. To this day, one meets intelligent people ready to accept repressed memories as common and to assume that the evidence for their regular occurrence with sexual trauma is strong. The theorists and practitioners who tried to show how these ideas about memory are wrong are still routinely slandered as "biased" and "against children."

The courts, in other words, could only repress some of the worst practices of the repressed-memory diagnosis. The horrendous idea itself needed something more to destroy it—which is the cause of what we might call the third phase of the memory wars.

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This phase began with closer study of the cases in the literature that purport to prove the existence of "repressed memories." The first key event of the third phase was the 1997 testimony of the distinguished psychiatrist Herbert Spiegel, which indicated that the classic case of "Sybil" (which purported to demonstrate repressed memories and multiple personalities) was contrived—almost fraudulently so—to gain publicity. Again and again, the standard cases of repressed memory dissolved under close study. Some of the afflicted patients were children caught up in a divorce and persuaded by one of the parents to accuse the other. Others proved ready to retract their accusations when they learned of alternative explanations for their troubles.

This aspect of the memory wars has occasionally turned nasty, as the protagonists for "recovered memories" pressured university committees—claiming invasion of privacy when the published cases were assessed anew—to stop the investigators from exploring their claims. Nonetheless, one by one, all the central examples of repressed memories proved unsubstantial.

In *Remembering Trauma*, Richard McNally monitors this final phase of the memory wars. McNally is both an experienced clinician and a prominent scientific investigator of memory. He provides a comprehensive description of both normal memory and memory influenced by time, prejudicial influence, trauma, and emotions. He systematically reviews all the claims and the theories brought forth to defend repressed-memory therapy, and he shows just how distorted the thinking of its champions are. The result is a damning judgment against the basic concepts of the manneristic Freudians.

McNally is so thorough in his reviews of scientific knowledge about memory and every one of the claims for support of the repressed-memory idea—from clinical anecdotes to such neurobiological ideas as brain scars in the hippocampus—that a casual reader may weary. But veterans of the memory wars will be grateful to him for this thoroughness, because he leaves no defense of repressed memory unassailed and thus brings fully to light what went wrong in psychiatry with the manneristic Freudians.

After reading McNally, one has a clear idea of the direction psychiatry must take. Psychiatrists need to cease seeking a generic explanation for mental disorder. They must align themselves instead with psychologists and neuropsychologists to explore the individual faculties of normal mental life—from perception and language, to emotion and drive, all the way down to memory. Most of all, psychiatry must become a *medicine*, moving toward a structure of reasoning and practice where knowledge of normal function leads to an understanding of just what has gone wrong in particular diseases. Richard McNally's *Remembering Trauma* is more than the final nail in the coffin of the repressed-memory craze. It is the blueprint for how psychiatry can best progress in the years to come. ♦

Brimstone America

Puritans in the hands of an angry author.

BY JEAN BETHKE ELSHTAIN

For James Morone, American history is a morality play. From the Puritans to the fevered reactions to Clinton, Monica, and the cigar—the political scientist at Brown University tells us in his new book *Hellfire Nation*—America has drunk the stuff of moralistic fervor, taken neat.

Hellfire Nation
The Politics of Sin in American History
by James A. Morone
Yale University Press, 560 pp., $35

Americans have always defined themselves against some dangerous or evil "other"—but the battle has never really been the party of moralism versus the party of immoralism. Rather, Morone declares, American history is defined by the fight between two moralistic versions of the American story: one group of moralists versus another, each age's reincarnation of the Puritans versus that age's reincarnation of the Progressives.

Hellfire Nation thus begins, as it must, with the original Puritans and their aspiration to build a City on a Hill. As he moves in later chapters through the history of America, Morone claims that such fights as abolitionism and women's suffrage can only be understood as clashes between moralistic visions. The same holds for the original "Progressive era," which he views largely through the temperance campaign and the more lurid aspects of the crusade against "white slavery." Finally, Morone turns to 1960s turmoil, post-Watergate upheavals, reactions to Clinton's unfortunate dalliances, and clashes over abortion and the family. He concludes with a lament that modern progressives have lost the battle of moralism—largely, he suggests, because of the way the abortion debate has played itself out.

How well does this work as an overarching explanation of American history? Perhaps the most important insight Morone offers is that there is no clear line separating religious moralism from secular moralism. This isn't his way of putting it, but it is clearly what he is aiming at. The pro-life side of the abortion debate often casts its arguments in language derived from religious commitment, while anti-smoking forces do not. Yet the anti-smokers are no less engaged upon a crusade when they speak of "public health." Theirs is merely a version of

Jean Bethke Elshtain is the author of Just War Against Terror: The Burden of American Power in a Violent World.

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moralism that does not recognize itself as such.

Unfortunately, insights such as this are lost in *Hellfire Nation* by Morone's hyperbolic overstatement of the book's thesis and his tendency to place every accomplishment, aberration, and anomaly on a single plane. Here, for instance, is Morone on the Puritans: "The Puritans wrote covenants that look something like modern constitutions, introduced political rules that roughly anticipate representative democracy, bore holes through Quaker tongues, whipped women for running naked through their villages, hanged the witches they found lurking in their midst, and prepared themselves for the millennial coming of Jesus to His new Israel."

There are real questions about the excesses he cites. Do we have any idea how many Quaker tongues had holes bored through them? And why were those women running naked through the villages anyway? But *Hellfire Nation* isn't about such evidence. It's about upping the rhetorical ante in order to keep the book's morality play intact.

Morone's discussion of Puritan moralism is important, for it provides the template for the remainder of *Hellfire Nation*, as one moralistic vision after another in American history is driven to what Morone believes is the logical and excessive end entailed in its core beliefs. Although he recognizes that the Puritans have served wags throughout our history as popular whipping boys—declared by H.L. Mencken, for instance, to be spoilsports dominated by the haunting fear that someone somewhere is happy—Morone contributes to the simplistic stereotype of the Puritans by spending less than three pages on their covenantal tradition and nearly fifty on "Heretic, Heathen, and Witch."

As it happens, the Puritans' covenants are a much longer-lasting moral contribution to the American polity, giving us, as they did, a notion of a politics not reducible to narrow self-interest or power advantage. But even beyond that, it would have been enormously helpful had Morone said something about how Puritans lived out their moral vision day by day: how they labored, educated their young, kept diaries charting their spiritual progress, and left behind a legacy of duty and devotion laced through and through with elemental moral imperatives. Instead, *Hellfire Nation* treats us to stories of religious madness, like one about the fellow who, in the midst of "conversion-despair," slit his own throat while contemplating the possibility of hellfire. This is how to do accurate American history? For every spiritual suicide, there were thousands whose daily record-keeping of spiritual progress helped them to live lives marked by seriousness of purpose and sobriety of deed.

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George Barrie's engraving of Puritans going to church (1883).

Morone's treatment of the Puritan conflict with Anne Hutchinson and the Salem witch trials relies on secondary sources and offers little new insight or evidence. But these complex events give him an opportunity to introduce perhaps his central motif: gender. The Salem witch trials involved more women than men—which, given the disproportionate space Morone devotes to the trials, allows *Hellfire Nation* to identify the recurring fight in American history as a battle between the puritanical "orthodox," who insist on "divinely appointed gender roles and rules," and their progressive opponents who challenge or spurn such roles and rules.

Anne Hutchinson is thus, in Morone's telling, the foreshadowing of much that will come later in American history—of much that is happening in our own time, for that matter. Members of today's version of the orthodox party call for a return to the Biblical family, sound "urgent jeremiad warnings about moral decline," and focus "both their rhetoric and their rage on monstrous images of dead fetuses" in the abortion debate—with images of fetuses playing the same role now that stories of satanic possession played in Salem. This collapse of a complex seventeenth-century narrative into a contemporary one does justice to neither, any more than does Morone's declaration that the "perfect stereotype of a witch" in Salem *then* is what we call a "welfare mother" *now*, because the first witch accused in Salem "had no fixed residence, she was pregnant, and she dragged her five-year-old daughter around with her." Whatever purpose Morone believes is served by such polemical excess, it has little to do with historical acumen.

The Puritans and what Morone takes to be their equally moralistic critics are the subject of the first part of *Hellfire Nation*, and they provide the foundation on which Morone builds the remainder of his history. In "The Abolitionist Crusade," he scores some telling points as he notes the use of prurient images of nubile female slaves being whipped and sexually abused by slavers as standard fare in abolitionist tracts. He goes on to tell us that abolitionists charged slaveholders "with the four great American trespasses: violence, intoxication, laziness, and sexual depravity." Slave states were labeled "Sodoms" and slave-holding

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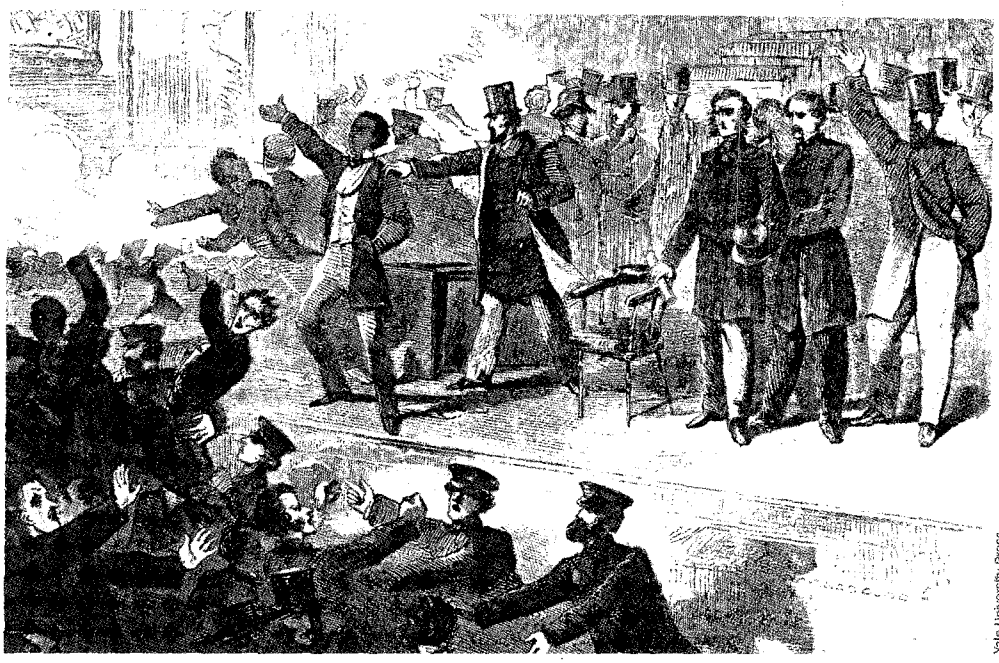

Yale University Press

Above: An 1860 abolitionists' meeting. Below: A 1920 prohibitionists' campaign.

families "brothels." These progressive forces were unabashedly moralistic. Abolitionists even put out primers for school children—"Abolitionists' ABCs" designed to mold young minds in the Abolitionist ethos: *A is for Abolitionist: / A man who wants to free / The wretched slave—and give to all / An equal Liberty*.

During and after the Civil War, the American morality play revolved around not only slavery but religion and immigration as well. In these years, nativism and anti-Catholicism flourished even as abolitionist agitation peaked. Unfortunately, all too many of the leading abolitionists and Suffragists also beat the drums of fear against dangerous and unwashed foreigners. One thinks here of the formidable Elizabeth Cady Stanton, abolitionist, leading suffragist rhetorician and polemicist, and avenger of outraged womanhood—incensed that lowly Irish, Italian, and other *male* immigrant elements of the lowest sort were enfranchised before women of the "better sort." Morone might have spent more time on this subject. At least he notes in passing the gender fears lurking in nineteenth-century anti-Catholicism, particularly the hysteria that young girls might be "lured" into convents.

In addition to the national trauma and "moral panic" surrounding slavery, nativism, anti-Catholicism, and worries about women moving into uncharted waters, Morone insists American Indians also served as an "irreducible, satanic other" for the American "us." Given the mere nine pages he devotes to this matter, Morone would have been well advised to turn to Alexis de Tocqueville's sober and poignant account of the fate of Native Americans in his masterwork, *Democracy in America*. In sparse and powerful passages on the removal of the Choctaw from one side of the Mississippi to the other, Tocqueville does more than Morone's abbreviated and lurid account to alert us to the sad displacement of Native Americans.

Morone devotes the third part of *Hellfire Nation* to "The Quest for Victorian Virtue." Great progressives, including Jane Addams (who rates only a few sentences in Morone's treatment of the Social Gospel movement), embraced a framework of normative ethics that was dedicated to incorporating immigrants by the tens of thousands into American civic life. Morone's penchant to reach for the sensationalistic prompts him to downplay much of the framework of ethics—a "certain renascence of Christianity," Addams called it—that was the stock in trade of Addams and so many others. Campaigns against alcohol and "white slavery" fit better into his framework than teaching English, promoting civics, building playgrounds, fighting child labor, or offering well-baby care and public baths. The image Morone leaves us of the moral reformers has them spending a disproportionate amount of their time prosecuting "dangerous anti-family ideas" and forbidding men "with immoral fancies from crossing state lines" rather than instilling habits of sobriety and work suited to the new conditions of urban industrialization.

By the time Morone completes his look at the Social Gospel movement, Prohibition, the New Deal "call to

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alms," and the geopolitical intricacies of the Cold War—all treated as following the same pattern of morality play—it comes as little surprise to the reader that the 1960s fits Morone's script perfectly. The 1960s have been demonized, he argues, because 1960s activists represented a true progressive fight against "injustice" and "oppression" and that's what "American Puritanism" cannot stand. Through the 1970s and 1980s, the new Puritans fumed over "drugs, sex, homosexuality, hedonism, feminism"—and today these anti-1960s types are in charge.

Morone's morality play of "Puritans versus Progressives" thus continues down to the present. His contemporary progressives are celebrants of a free lifestyle. The contemporary Puritans, by contrast, want women in the home and military-style occupation of our urban centers. They even want to pillory people for sexual transgression, as they did to "presidential advisor Robert Morris" (he means Dick Morris).

As it happens, the forces of progressivism have injured themselves, Morone argues, by embracing a constricted vision of privacy rights as the heart of the matter in the abortion debate. This, in turn, invited an overall privatization of progressive morality. Progressives ceded public morality to the repressive and reactionary puritans. Were progressives to rediscover their true moralistic voice, the archetypal American scenario of puritan moralism poised against progressive moralism would fall back into place.

Morone at least recognizes the bad faith in claims from progressives that their opponents traffic in moralism and they do not. But, finally, *Hellfire Nation* is an example of the phenomenon it aims to explore: American history as a morality play. One appreciates Morone's ambition. Much history nowadays takes the form of the narrow monograph. The great tradition of narrative history has fallen out of favor. When it is done well, it is exhilarating. But *Hellfire Nation* isn't done well—primarily because Morone sees American history as a tunnel rather than an expansive vista. ♦

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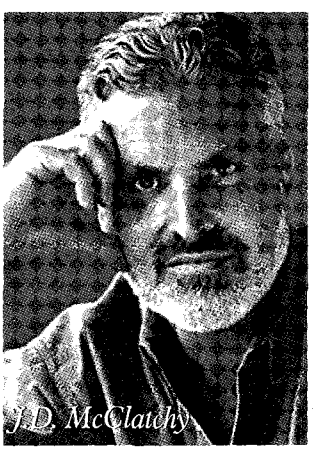
Loading the Canon

Who's in and who's out in contemporary poetry.

BY LEN KRISAK

Pity the poor anthologists. However richly compensated—and, typically, they aren't—they remain hostages to time, never knowing if their choices will survive and justify them.

Meanwhile, every outraged reviewer gets to excoriate five or six pages of the anthology, until the entire book is covered in opprobrium: "Where's Donald Hall?" "Where's X.J. Kennedy?" "What about Dana Gioia?" "Why was Alfred Corn dropped from this new edition?" "What's wrong with Stanley Kunitz?" "Where's Billy Collins?" "Why is Audre Lorde wasting pulp in here when we could have had Maya Angelou or June Jordan?" "You call *that* Gary Snyder's best work?"



The Vintage Book of Contemporary American Poetry
edited by J.D. McClatchy
Vintage, 736 pp., $17

A thankless task, this canon-making. And, in truth, it is hard not to *want* to approve of J.D. McClatchy's efforts in *The Vintage Book of Contemporary American Poetry.* He was one of the few well-mannered poets during the recent tempest over Mrs. Bush's poetic teacups. As editor of the *Yale Review*, he once published the work of Greg Williamson, and that has to be worth something. His recent edition of Edna St. Vincent Millay's poetry for the Library of America series is to be applauded. And his other recent anthology, a complete set of translations of Horace's *Odes* by various poets, was quite good.

In short, McClatchy occupies a formidable position in the current literary establishment, and we should be grateful Vintage placed this commission where it did. One could do much, much worse for a compiler of contemporary American poetry.

But no cultural enterprise—especially not as it pertains to the poetry wars—is ever going to be an unmixed blessing. In the 1990 edition, which the publishers called a "collection of the best poems by sixty-five of America's greatest contemporary poets," about seven-and-a-half pages are given over, on average, to each of the luminaries within. But in McClatchy's new, improved edition, Adrienne Rich has been allotted fourteen pages and J.V. Cunningham two and a half—a ratio just about exactly backwards. What judicious editing once gave, the hope of having the book adopted by English departments has now taken away.

And so it goes throughout *The Vintage Book of Contemporary American Poetry*. McClatchy deserves applause for even including the unfashionable Cunningham, America's greatest epigrammatist. Given the alternatives, we should just be grateful that Richard Wilbur and Anthony Hecht and Gertrude Schnackenberg and Kay Ryan appear at all. But there is a high price to pay for that kind of silence: page after page of Charles Olson, for instance. Or maybe such lines from Robert Duncan as *The Thundermakers descend, / damerging a nuv. A nerb. The present dented of the U night stayd. States? The heavy clod?*

Then there is C.K. Williams, in a rodomontade on Three Mile Island, which proves mostly that, when it comes to settling on a gimmick, poets are not necessarily any better than the average run of hucksters. Louise Glück appears, mostly impenetrable, but occasionally lapsing into coherence long enough to favor us with things like this: *It is not the moon, I tell you. It is these flowers lighting the yard. / I hate them. I hate them as I hate sex.*

For every marvelous Richard Wilbur poem, there is a penance to pay: the egregious Allen Ginsberg, the near-comatose A.R. Ammons, the insufferably pretentious Jory Graham. Kay Ryan's delightful "Paired Things"—*Who ever would have dreamed / the broad winged raven of despair / would quit the air and go / bandylegged upon the ground, / a common crow?*—requires slogging one's way through the burnt-tongued and prosaic banality of most of the verse idols of our dreary age.

McClatchy has added a page-and-a-half note to this new edition of *The Vintage Book of Contemporary American Poetry*, in which he claims that the "dry-as-dust New Formalists" take up too many pages in anthologies nowadays. It's hard to see quite what makes him think so. You can readily find Charles Bernstein and his ilk on the shelves of Borders—along with slam poets, performance poets, post-post-modernist poets, Nuyorican poets, and on and on. Try finding a formalist like Tim Steele or Charles Martin or Alicia Stallings in anything remotely like the same numbers.

What in 1990 was sixty-five is now seventy-two: the poets who fill this anthology bravely facing the future, the representatives of what was finest in our literary culture from 1948 to 2003. I'd put my money on about eight of them, at most.

And so should you. ♦

Len Krisak is the author of the poetry collections Midland *and* Even as We Speak. *His translation of Ovid's* Art of Love *will be published next year.*

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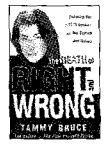
"Chick Lit?"

Books in Brief

***Voucher Wars: Waging the Legal Battle over School Choice* by Clint Bolick (Cato, 219 pp., $12).** School choice is the unfinished part of the civil-rights movement—or so claims Clint Bolick in *Voucher Wars*. A founder of the Institute for Justice, Bolick recounts the long battle to promote school choice. In the courts, that fight has produced a recent Supreme Court victory. In the forum of public opinion, however, the fight still rages, and to persuade the reader, Bolick writes of his many visits to the inner cities and the rural towns struggling with crumbling schools, recalcitrant unions, and ineffective bureaucracies. With all this in sight, Bolick makes a compelling case for the legality of vouchers and argues that their implementation would secure educational opportunities for children from poor families and improve the dire situation of the public education system. By the end of *Voucher Wars*, the reader is left wondering why school choice didn't win out long ago.

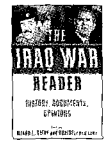
—Ben Kutler



***The Death of Right and Wrong: Exposing the Left's Assault on Our Culture and Values* by Tammy Bruce (Prima, 341 pp., $25.95).** In *The Death of Right and Wrong*, Tammy Bruce declares that morals are under vicious attack by feminist, gay, and black special-interest groups—which is a curious thing to hear from a self-proclaimed lesbian feminist and former president of the Los Angeles chapter of the National Organization for Women. Arguing that right and wrong are frighteningly blurred by groups who use their "victimhood" to further their own agendas, Bruce takes out after what she calls "malignant narcissists": the feminists who bemoaned the Andrea Yates verdict, for instance, and groups who promote the "sexualization" of young children.

"Theirs is a world," she writes, "of self-gratification that *requires* an end to personal responsibility. Values, decency, *and* knowing right from wrong—and having the courage to act on that knowledge—are all verboten." At once fierce and compassionate, Bruce shows a real flair for giving advice: "Ignorance sustains the moral relativists, and knowledge is to them as water is to the Wicked Witch of the West. I think it's time we invited them to take a swim."

—Erin Montgomery



***The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions* edited by Micah L. Sifry and Christopher Cerf (Touchstone, 736 pp., $16).** Most public-policy anthologies are a bore—either too slight in substance or too academic in tone. Not so *The Iraq War Reader*. It combines polemics with solid policy statements; forceful opinion pieces with scholarly analyses. Readers will find in its pages key documents, speeches, and essays that give depth to the debate about American policy toward Iraq. The reader covers the period from before the First Gulf War through the more recent debate over what America's role should be in the Middle East and the world at-large once Saddam has been removed from power. And there is no significant topic—Saddam himself, weapons of mass destruction, inspections, or wars of preemption—not touched on. In 1991, Sifry and Cerf edited a similar volume, *The Gulf War Reader*. Like that old reader, this new one strives to be a compendium and a record of the debate and issues as they have unfolded.

Of course, in any anthology of this kind, there are bound to be a number of pieces that will drive WEEKLY STANDARD readers nuts. And, conversely, there are essays and op-eds that will undoubtedly put *Nation* subscribers into low-earth orbit. But there are plenty of selections—such as the transcript of American ambassador April Glaspie's meeting with Saddam Hussein in July 1990 and President Bush's West Point commencement address in June 2002—that anyone interested in the contours of a turning point in American national security will want to have in hand.

—Gary Schmitt

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"Dictators don't reform. They have to be deposed."
—Andrew Sullivan, on the "Raines Regime,"
andrewsullivan.com, *May 15, 2003*

Parody

COMMITTEE
FOR THE LIBERATION
OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

FOR YOUR EYES ONLY
B. Keller

TOP SECRET

TO: Bill Keller
FROM: Andrew Sullivan
DATE: May 19
RE: Time to act

I feel it is time to mobilize the government in exile and initiate Operation Grey Lady Freedom. The Howellite regime is in chaos, and my sources tell me that the terror squads are beginning to lose their grip on the newsroom. I spoke to Wolfowitz, Perle, Rosenthal, and the rest of the neoconservatives; they agree that now is the time to act.

One idea is to take control of the paper immediately, while Raines, Boyd, and Sulzberger are scheduled to be at the Let's Not Scapegoat the Senior Executives Golf Tournament in East Hampton. Others think it is best to wait while popular anger at the regime boils. They point to the poem recently scrawled on the wall of one of the women's restrooms:

"Howell"

I saw the best Times of my generation destroyed by
madness, starving hysterical naked,
dragging itself through the streets at dawn,
looking for an accurate fact.

The gradual plan would mean occupying territory in the Sunday Styles section, which Raines doesn't know exists, and building popular support from there. This would counter the State Department's claim that you have been in exile so long you have lost touch with the reporters on the ground. The danger of delay is that Raines's new charm offensive--yesterday he released half of his political prisoners and was seen lunching at Michael's with a small, stuffed moose and three cute pets--might begin to fracture the international coalition.

Some of the more toadyish reporters were showing some signs of sympathy during Raines's 45-minute self-abasing speech at the town hall meeting last week: "You view me as inaccessible and arrogant. You believe the newsroom is too hierarchical. You believe I am a one-eyed snake, a monster in human form. You believe I sleep in a coffin and only come out at night to drink blood...."

Comandante Keller, I believe the time for shock and awe is now! Now is the time to put boots on the ground and march on the editor's office. By this time next week the statues will fall! The people will rejoice!

Next week, on 43rd Street!

Best,

Andrew

the weekly Standard
May 26, 2003

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Bush's Armies of Compassion Are Inching Forward

Hanna Skandera

is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution.

During the 2000 campaign, George Bush promoted making faith-based organizations eligible for government funding. Given other concerns, however, such as the war on terrorism, the push for faith-based organizations (FBOs) has progressed slowly. Yet there are signs that FBOs are gaining momentum.

Since the 2000 campaign, President Bush has created the framework for "Armies of Compassion" to help meet social needs, using his bully pulpit to preach for partnerships between the federal government and FBOs. In December 2002, Bush signed two Executive Orders designed to benefit FBOs. The first announced new Federal Emergency Management Agency actions eliminating discriminatory practices against faith-based groups in disaster relief efforts. The second opened two new Faith-Based and Community Initiatives offices.

But what happened to Bush's faith-based legislation? Before the congressional elections, Bush's faith-based legislation (the CARE Act) sailed through the House but stalled in the Senate, in part because of former Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle's maneuvering. With a new Republican Senate in place, it was assumed that the CARE Act would be guaranteed a place on the floor; but the legislation stalled once again. On April 9, however, the Senate passed a new version of the CARE Act by a vote of 95-5.

In relation to FBOs, Senate bill S. 476 calls for $12.7 billion in tax breaks for charitable giving and provides $150 million annually for a Compassion Capital Fund to assist community groups. Although, the controversial "equal treatment language"—which would have prohibited the government from requiring FBOs to remove religious art or scripture from areas where they provide social services, alter their charters, and/or alter religious qualifications for board membership in order to receive federal funds—was removed. This language would also have protected FBOs that received federal funds from antidiscrimination hiring laws. S. 476 is a step in the right direction, but was not all President Bush had hoped for.

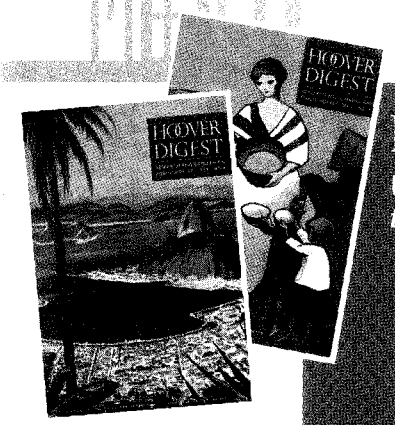
While slow to mobilize in Washington, the president's Armies of Compassion are advancing elsewhere. The Hudson Institute recently released a report that studied fifteen states that have contracted with religious organizations to offer services. According to the report, which compared its results with its study of nine states conducted in 2000, there has been an upswing in contracting between government entities and FBOs.

The report revealed the following: (1) Since 2000, the number of financial contracts in eight of the nine original states has increased. In California the number of contracts increased from 11 to 107. (2) More churches are now involved in government contracting. Out of 587 faith-based organizations listed in 2002, 22 percent were churches (vs. 501c3 nonprofit organizations); in 2000, only 3.5 percent of the FBOs contracting with the government were congregations. (3) Of the nine states studied in both years, financial contracts increased more than tenfold. In 2002, contracts totaled $88 million; in 2000, they totaled $7.5 million.

Evidence suggests that the president has successfully used his pulpit to encourage partnerships between FBOs and the federal government. Thus far, however, Bush's audience outside the Beltway has listened and responded quicker than his Washington congregation. The passage of S. 476 should renew hope that Bush's message will affect all intended audiences, Washington included. Rumor has it that when the bill hits the House floor it will pass.

— Hanna Skandera

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.



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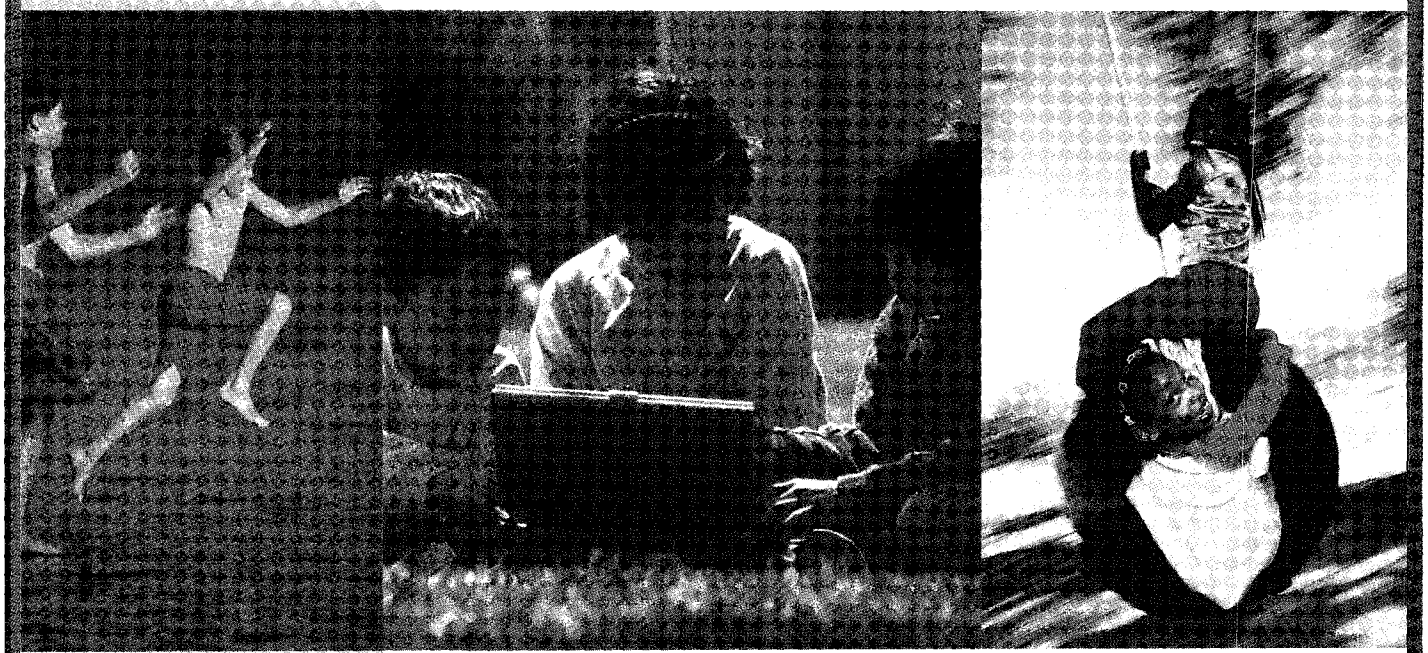

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